

SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

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SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

By
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TO
ROBERT PIERCE CASEY
In Friendship and Gratitude

“And to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery.”—EPH. iii, 9.

“The divine can mean no single quality, it must mean a group of qualities, by being champions of which in alternation, different men may all find worthy missions.”
—WILLIAM JAMES, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*.

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PREFACE

The introduction to the sociology of religion, *Einführung in die Religionssoziologie*, which the author published in German in 1931, has been given a favourable reception. This approbation, as well as the desire to prepare an outline in English for his lectures on the sociology of religion in an American university, has prompted him to continue his efforts. The following sketch is intended to serve as a basis for lectures in class; hence its concentrated presentation.

Problems allied to ours are discussed in systematic and historical theology and in the science of religion, in political theory and the social sciences, in philosophy and psychology, in philology and anthropology. The author, a student not of the social sciences but of religion, is convinced of the desirability of bridging the gulf which still exists between the study of religion and the social sciences, an enterprise in which an important role will be played by cultural anthropology. He considers his contribution more as a modest attempt at a synthesis than an inventory with any claim to completeness.

Personal experience has aided the author in realizing the vital importance and significance of religion as an integrating factor in human society and in understanding its function in the contemporary crisis of civilization in East and West. Notwithstanding the existence of many preliminary studies and monographs by a great number of eminent scholars, the present attempt had to develop its own methodology. The author is conscious of many shortcomings, which the expert in some of the fields concerned will easily discover. *Ut desint vires, tamen sit laudanda voluntas.*

A word might be said regarding the arrangement of the following outline. The topics are presented in an order which is designed to do justice to historical facts as well as to logic. After some methodological and general considerations in Part I (chaps. i-iii), a discussion of the relation of religion to society in its "natural" order (coincidence of natural and religious grouping) in chapter iv opens Part II. This is continued (chap. vi) by an examination of the impact of social differentiation on religion and vice versa. The review of specifically religious organization (chap. v) prepares for the treatment of the relation of religion in all the variety of its organization to the state (chap. vii) and for an

attempt to analyse types of religious authority (chap. viii). The conclusion (chap. ix) presents some considerations of a more general character suggested by our inquiry.

I feel much indebted to Dr. R. M. MacIver for his advice and encouragement. Mr. Max Vorspan has rendered the author a great service through a stylistic revision of the manuscript. Finally, I wish to thank Dr. E. Broome, Dr. E. Kretzmann, and Mr. E. Szarama for their help. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. William F. Kahl in the making of the indices.

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A brief summary of the dominant trends and prevailing theories in the field of sociology of religion and an appreciation of the results will be found in the author's contribution, "Sociology of Religion", to *Twentieth Century Sociology: A Symposium*, edited by Georges Gurvitch and Wilbur E. Moore (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc.).

J. W.

January 25, 1945

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AA** *American Anthropologist: Organ of the American Anthropological Association.* Washington, D.C.: Judd & Detweiler, 1888—.
- AAA Mem** AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION. *Memoirs.* Lancaster, Pa., 1905—.
- ACHS** "American Church History Series." New York: Christian Literature Co., 1893—.
- AJS** *American Journal of Sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1896—.
- AJSL** *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1895-1941.
- AMNH** AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY. *Anthropological Papers.* New York, 1908—. *Bulletin.* New York, 1881—.
- AR** *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.* Leipzig: Freiburg i. Br., 1898—.
- ASR** *American Sociological Review.* Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Co., 1936—.
- BAE** *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881—.
- C(A, Med, M)H** *The Cambridge (Ancient, Medieval, Modern) History.* Cambridge University Press, 1923, 1911, 1902 ff.
- Calif. Pub.** "University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology." Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1904—.
- Chantepie, Lehrbuch** CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte.* 4th ed. by ALFRED BERTHOLET and EDWARD LEHMANN. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1925.
- ChH** *Church History.* Scottdale, Pa.: American Society of Church History, 1932—.
- EI** *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. M. TH. HOUTSMA. Leyden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1913—.
- Ejud** *Encyclopaedia Judaica: Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Berlin: Eschkol A.G., 1928—.
- ERE** *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. JAMES HASTINGS. T. & T. Clark, 1908—.
- ESS** *Encyclopaedia of the Social Services*, ed. EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN. London: Macmillan, 1930—.

- FMNH* FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY. *Publications*. "Anthropological Series." Chicago, 1895—.
- HJAS* *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1936—.
- HThR* *Harvard Theological Review*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1908; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1910—.
- IRM* *International Review of Missions*. Edinburgh and London: Committee of the World Mission Conference, 1910—.
- JR* *Journal of Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921—.
- PASCH* *Papers of the American Society of Church History: Second Series*. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913—.
- PWRE* *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. WISSOWA. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1894—.
- RGG* *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 2d ed. by HERMANN GUNKEL and LEOPOLD ZSCHARNACK. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1927—.
- RHP* *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse publiée par la faculté de théologie protestante d'Université de Strasbourg*. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1901—.
- RHR* *Revue de l'histoire des religions*. Paris: Musée Guimet, 1880—.
- RLM* HEINRICH WILHELM ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1884—.
- RLV* MAX EBERT, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1924—.
- RIA* OTTO SCHRADER, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*. Strassburg, 1911.
- RR* *Review of Religion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936—.
- SBE* *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. MAX MÜLLER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879—.
- TICHR* *Transactions of the III International Congress for the History of Religions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.
- TWNT* *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. GERHARD KITTEL. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932—.
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Leipzig, 1847—.
- ZMR* *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*. Berlin: Ostasien Mission (Steglitz), 1885—.

PART I

METHODOLOGICAL PROLEGOMENA

CHAPTER I

THE METHOD

1. THE METHOD

It is readily apparent that it would be beyond the scope of a volume of this nature to develop a methodology for the study of religion even in its broadest outlines.¹ We shall, therefore, content ourselves here with a brief discussion of the relationship that obtains between the various branches of the science of religion.² Theology, a normative discipline, is concerned with the analysis, interpretation, and exposition of one particular faith. The general science of religion, which reckons within its province phenomenology,³ history, psychology, and sociology of religion, is essentially descriptive, aiming at understanding the nature of all religions.⁴ There is thus a quantitative and qualitative difference between the approaches, methods, and goals of the two disciplines: either one religion or a variety of them is the subject of study, the method being either normative or descriptive. A philosophy of religion⁵ would be akin to theology in its normative interests,

¹ All important works are included in the most comprehensive study of the historical development of the study of religions: Henri Pinard de la Boullaye, *L'Etude comparée des religions* (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1922), Vol. I; see also Albert Eustace Haydon, "History of Religions", in *Religious Thought in the Last Quarter-Century*, ed. Gerald Birney Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 140 ff.

² Joachim Wach, *Religionswissenschaft* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924), and *RGG*, IV, 1914 ff., 1954 ff., 1929 ff.; *Einführung in die Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1931), pp. vii ff.

³ Cf. the review of recent attempts to define the task of the systematic study of religion by Eva Hirschmann, *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Groningen diss., 1939 (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1940)). We use the term not in the sense of Husserl and Scheler but to indicate the systematic, not the historical, study of phenomena like prayer, priesthood, sect, etc. Cf. also Alfred A. Krauskopf, *Die Religion und die Gemeinschaftsmächte: Gegenwartsfragen der Religionssoziologie* (Leipzig: B. J. Teubner, 1935).

⁴ Cf. Robert Ranulph Marett, *Psychology and Folklore* (London: Methuen & Co., 1919), chap. vii.

⁵ With Edgar Sheffield Brightman, *A Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), esp. chaps. ii, iii, xiv, we find a concept of the study of religious experience and a methodology much akin to our own.

but it would share its subject matter with the science of religion.⁶

There are many excellent treatments of the history of religion⁷ and of its psychological nature but fewer systematic and comparative studies of the varied forms of the expression of religious experience.⁸ Most students place the main emphasis on such theoretical forms as myth, doctrine, or dogma. These are important, but equally, if not more, important⁹ is the practical expression in cultus and forms of worship. Besides doctrine and rites, there is a third field of religious expression which is only now gaining the measure of attention which it merits: religious grouping, religious fellowship and association, the individual, typological, and comparative study of which is the field of the sociology of religion.¹⁰ This volume presents the outline of such a study.

An acquaintance with the historical development of the various religions and cults which are reviewed here from the sociologist's point of view must be presupposed. Without the work of the historian of religion, the sociologist would be helpless. Yet neither can substitute for the other; whereas the former is interested in longitudinal lines of development, the latter tries to cut through these lines vertically. It is the sociologist's hope that his categories will prove fruitful for the organization of the historian's material.

The credit for having been the first to conceive of a systematic

⁶ The interesting objections to the traditional definitions of a science of religions which John Baillie outlines (*The Interpretation of Religion* (T. & T. Clark, 1933), chap. v) do not apply to our conception.

⁷ The two best are still: George Foot Moore, *History of Religions* (T. & T. Clark, 1937), and P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (4th ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1925). Cf. also Horace L. Friess and Herbert W. Schneider, *Religion in Various Cultures* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1932), with especially valuable bibliography. For the history of Christianity see Lars P. Qualben, *A History of the Christian Church* (rev. ed.; Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1940).

⁸ Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1933), (English trans. by J. E. Turner: *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1938)), is a most valuable outline. It is the sociological part of this book (§§ 32-88 and 101-6) which we have tried to supplement.

⁹ See the discussion in two representative studies: Friedrich Heiler, *Prayer*, trans. S. McComb (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1932), and Evelyn Underhill, *Worship* (Nisbet). Other works are listed below. A recent criticism of over-emphasis on doctrinal studies is Robert Wood Williamson's discussion of the study of primitive religion in *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* (Cambridge: University Press, 1937), pp. 189 ff., 195 ff.

¹⁰ For analogies in the methodology of the sociology of religion and of law see the suggestive treatment of problems of the latter by Nicholas S. Timasheff, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Law* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Committee on Research in Social Sciences, 1939), and Georges Gurvitch, *Sociology of Law* (International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, Kegan Paul), esp. chaps. ii and iv (typology of inclusive societies).

sociology of religion belongs to Max Weber.¹¹ It is interesting that the spotlight on Weber's works has been directed almost entirely to his studies in Calvinism,¹² leaving in the dark the major portion of his contribution to the systematic sociology of religion. We shall here be primarily concerned with this systematic outline and his studies of the non-Christian religious world. Weber and his colleagues, especially Werner Sombart, have also done pioneer work in investigating the tenuous strands linking economics and religion.¹³ The study of economics in its relation to religion, however, comprises only one of a number of forms of social activity and can be considered as merely one aspect of a sociology of religion. Like the study of "religion and art" or "religion and legal institutions", the examination of the complicated inter-relations of economics and religion is of great significance in the general investigation of the relationships between religion and the whole gamut of social activities. But the study of "economics and religion" is by no means identical with a sociology of religion.

Weber left much to be done. In his scheme of religions he neglected to include the entire group of so-called "primitive" religions as well as Mohammedanism and other important faiths. In addition, the great scholar's understanding of religion was somewhat impaired by his critical attitude towards it.¹⁴ The categories under which he classified religious phenomena are not entirely satisfactory, because not enough attention is paid to their original meaning.

In many respects Weber's work was complemented by the exhaustive studies of his friend, Ernst Troeltsch, which were,

¹¹ The history of sociology of religion is outlined by the author in *RGG* (2nd ed., 1930), IV, 1929 ff., and in *Einführung in die Religionssoziologie* (1931); see "Max Weber als Religionssoziologe", Appendix, pp. 65-98.

¹² *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Vol. II, chap. iv (1925) (cited hereafter as "Weber, W. und G."); *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, Vols. I-III (1925-27) (cited hereafter as "Weber, G.A."), partly translated as *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* by Talcott Parsons (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1930).

The most adequate presentation of Max Weber's work to the English reader has been so far Parsons' "Studies in Max Weber's Sociology", a chapter in his *The Structure of Social Action: A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to Recent European Writers* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), chap. xiv of the forthcoming volume in the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction on *Max Weber: Science, Politics, Power*, Selected Essays, translated and edited, with an Introduction.

¹³ For criticism see Amintore Fanfani, *Catholicism, Protestantism, Capitalism* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1935), pp. 3 ff. and chaps. ii, vii; Hector Menteith Robertson, *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism: A Criticism of Max Weber and His School* (Cambridge: University Press, 1933); Albert Hyma, *Christianity, Capitalism and Communism* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: G. Wahr, 1937).

¹⁴ Cf. R. Lennert, "Die Religionstheorie Max Webers", in *Religion und Geschichte*, ed. Joachim Wach (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935).

unfortunately, limited exclusively to Christianity.¹⁵ His approach stimulated H. R. Niebuhr's analysis of American denominationalism, one of the outstanding recent contributions to the sociology of cults,¹⁶ just as Max Weber's influence, combined with that of Leopold von Wiese's sociology, stimulated Howard Becker's interest in the sociological aspect of religion.¹⁷ It is regrettable that the commendable precedent set by the two German scholars—one a social scientist, the other a theologian and philosopher—in refusing to allow personal metaphysical and other theories and conceptions to interfere with the impersonal task of analysing and describing social phenomena of religious significance has not always been followed.¹⁸

It is important that we avoid falling into the same type of error which was made by the proponents of the new psychology of religion a few decades ago.¹⁹ Some students, dazzled by the new light, had imagined that they had now been provided with the universal key²⁰ to a complete understanding of religion. Those of us who study the sociological implications of religion will err equally if we imagine that our work will reveal the nature and essence of religion itself.²¹ This injunction is directed particularly

¹⁵ Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck, 1912)), trans. by Olive Wyon: *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (Allen & Unwin, 1931). Cf. also Luigi Sturzo, *Church and State* (G. Bles, Centenary Press, 1939), and his concept of historical integral sociology.

¹⁶ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929); Howard Becker in his enlarged ed. of Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology* (Chapman & Hall, 1932). Cf. n. 33 below and Franz H. Mueller's ed. of Wiese's *Sociology* (New York: O. Pies, 1941). Cf. also H. E. Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (Harrap, 1938).

¹⁷ Influenced by Gierke, Weber, and Troeltsch, a sociological study of Lutherism in the United States was published by Heinrich H. Maurer, "Studies in the Sociology of Religion. I. The Sociology of Protestantism", *AJS*, XXX (1924), 251 ff. On other studies inspired by their work cf. below, notes to chaps. v and vi.

¹⁸ Wilhelm Wundt's monumental *Völkerpsychologie*, James George Frazer's great work *The Golden Bough*, and Wilhelm Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, with all due respect to these great promoters of our knowledge, are more open to criticism in this respect. (Cf. for a criticism of the method of the latter two, R. H. Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory* (Harrap, 1937), esp. pp. 101 ff.; cf. also n. 22 below.)

¹⁹ The development of psychological studies of religion is traced in Franklin Simpson Hickman, *Introduction to Psychology of Religion* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1926), pp. 17 ff.; William Boothby Selbie, *The Psychology of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), chaps. i, xv; and the comprehensive studies by Henry Nelson and Regina Westcott Wieman, *Normative Psychology of Religion* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1935).

²⁰ Cf. the excellent criticism by Robert Ranulph Marett, *The Threshold of Religion* (3rd ed.; London: Methuen & Co., 1914), pp. 123 ff. Brightman (*Philosophy of Religion*, p. 77) accuses Max Weber, John Dewey, and Joachim Wach of the "prejudice which regards the social approach as the only key to all problems"—wrongly so far as we are concerned.

²¹ See the exposition and excellent criticism of the historical and exegetical dangers in Henry Joel Cadbury, *The Peril of Modernizing Jesus* (Macmillan, 1937), esp. chap. v:

at those theorists who apply the philosophy of Marx and Comte to the study of religion and society. Durkheim,²² for example, impaired the validity of his analysis of primitive religious institutions by his unwarranted assumption of an identity of the worshipping subject with the object of religion.²³

Our aim will be more modest. We hope by an examination of the manifold interrelations between religion and social phenomena to contribute to a better appreciation of one function of religion, perhaps not its foremost but certainly an essential one. Through this approach we hope not only to illustrate the cultural significance of religion but also to gain new insight into the relations between the various forms of expression of religious experience and eventually to understand better the various aspects of religious experience itself.

In her stimulating discussion of patterns of culture, Ruth Benedict, one of the leading modern anthropologists, contrasts the attitude prevalent during a period in which "religion remained a living issue" with the more sophisticated attitude which makes possible an understanding of religion from "objectively studied data".²⁴ We cannot agree with this and similar pronouncements of the "death" of religion, which are based primarily on a false identification of religious experience with one or another of its historical expressions. The categories of "true" and "false", contrary to the once popular desire of the historians, can never be dispensed with. The problem is to interpret correctly the meaning of the phenomena which are to be evaluated. That was clearly

"The Limitations of Jesus' Social Teachings". The same preoccupation made itself felt in the study of other religions. (Cf. H. Grimme's conception of the origin of Islam in his *Muhammed* (1892), p. 95.)

²² Émile Durkheim, *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (1912, 1925), translated by S. M. Swain in 1915. (Cf. the criticism by C. C. J. Webb, *Group Theories of Religion and the Individual* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1916); H. R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (Routledge, 1924), chap. vii; Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic, Science and Religion", in *Science, Religion and Reality*, ed. Joseph Needham (London: S.P.C.K., 1925), pp. 53 ff.; and Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, chap. v, a sociological view of comparative religion, esp. pp. 129 ff.) A detailed presentation of the teachings of Durkheim is offered by Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, chaps. viii-xii. For criticism of Durkheim from a Catholic point of view cf. Simon Deploige, *The Conflict between Ethics and Sociology*, trans. Charles C. Miltner (St. Louis, Mo., and London: B. Herder Book Co., 1938), chap. v. Quite a few studies in sociology of religion in the *American Journal of Sociology* in the first decades of the century reflect this view. Cf., as an example, Charles A. Ellwood, "The Social Function of Religion", *AJS*, XIX (1913), 289 ff. Religious concepts are here defined as "projections" of "social values".

²³ For a criticism of the methodological mistakes of the "religionsgeschichtliche Schule" (historism) cf. Joachim Wach, *Religionswissenschaft*, chap. iii; cf. also O. Eissfeldt, "Religionsgeschichte" (art.), in *RGG*, IV, 1898 ff.

²⁴ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Routledge, 1934), p. 8.

seen half a century ago by William James.²⁵ Many grievous errors could be avoided if the discipline of hermeneutics, the theory of interpretation, could be revitalized. We need precise definitions and thorough discussions of the presuppositions, methods, and limits of interpretation in the science of religion, comparable to the great theological, philosophical, and legal systems of hermeneutics.²⁶

To summarize, the sociology of religion will supplement but can never replace phenomenology, psychology, or history of religion, to say nothing of theology. To the latter we leave the formulation of the religious norms and values which shall guide our lives and actions.²⁷ If our method here is for the most part descriptive, our results will be much more than academic. This does not imply that predetermined conclusions will be triumphantly deduced. It does mean that an impartial observer will become strikingly aware of the intricacy and variety of the relations existing between society and religion; he will be impressed with the tremendous fomenting and integrating power possessed by religion. In his inspiring lectures, called *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*, which contain brilliant contributions to our subject of study and have only recently been translated into English,²⁸ Jacob Burckhardt, the great Swiss historian of culture, reminds us of Bacon's monumental dictum: "Religio praecipuum humanae societatis vinculum" ("Religion is the most substantial bond of humanity"). In the light of the calamity which has beset civilization in our time, a thorough understanding of the role of religion, past and present, is of the utmost importance. The era in which scholars in the field of comparative religion could display their wares with an air of supreme indifference is about over. It would be enlightening to collect dogmatic judgments from the pens of the thinkers at the end of the nineteenth century who frequently betray, directly or indirectly, arguments and modes

²⁵ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929), esp. Lecture I on the difference of "existential" and "value" judgment. Cf. also his "Conclusion" on the "survival theory".

²⁶ Ernst von Dobschütz, "Interpretation" (art.), in *ERE*, VII, 390 ff., and Joachim Wach, *Das Verstehen: Geschichte der hermeneutischen Theorie im 19. Jahrhundert*, Vols. I-III (1926-33); cf. van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion*, pp. 671 ff., 694; cf. also Ernest Cadman Colwell, *The Study of the Bible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

²⁷ The methodological problems have been discussed by the author: "Sinn und Aufgabe der Religionswissenschaft", *ZMR*, L (1935), 131 ff., and "Religion" (art.), in *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*, ed. Alfred Vierkandt (Stuttgart: F. Enke, 1931).

²⁸ Jacob Burckhardt, *Reflections on History* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1943), p. 93.

of thought relevant to the period of the Enlightenment—an age of one-sided intellectualism and scepticism.²⁹ The feeling of superiority which impelled so many positivist commentators to ridicule the “crude” and “bizarre” expressions of the ignorant mind has almost entirely vanished. [Just as the careful study of the history of art gave us a new understanding and appreciation of the nature of that art which is different from our own, so the historian of religion to-day tries to penetrate the mythical symbolism used in religion and to reveal for us the real meaning which lies swathed in such exotic clothing.] Not a few of us have been startled by a realization of the relative nature of the hitherto naïvely used term “primitive” when applied to religion. Some students have even gone to the other extreme, not only discarding the modern feeling of superiority but developing a nostalgic, though unproductive, longing for the “days gone by” and a shortsighted envy of people who once possessed what the “modern” world has lost. The more realistic approach is one which combines a sympathetic insight into the meaning of religious experiences different from ours geographically and temporally with a critical awareness of its relevance to modern life and problems.

One more methodological problem must not escape our attention. Careful discrimination between social philosophy (normative theory of society) and sociology is necessary. There is no such thing as Christian or Jewish or Moslem sociology. But there are implicit or explicit Christian, Moslem, or Jewish social philosophies. The totally unwarranted confusion of social philosophy with sociology is evident in the normative concept of religion often styled “Christian sociology” which underlies most studies of the social implications of Christianity,³⁰ valuable as they may be, and the few existing monographs on other

²⁹ Friedrich Overbeck, 1837–1905, the influential friend of Jacob Burckhardt and of Nietzsche (their correspondence was edited by Carl Albrecht Bernoulli, 1908: bibliography there) is representative of this attitude. Cf. *RGG*, IV, 843.

³⁰ Reviewed by Shailer Mathews, “The Development of Social Christianity in America”, in *Religious Thought in the Last Quarter-Century*, ed. Smith (1927), pp. 228 ff., and Maurice C. Latta, “The Background for the Social Gospel in American Protestantism”, *CHH*, V (1936), 256 ff., and below, chap. vi, sec. 8. (Cf. also Charles Abram Ellwood, *Christianity and Social Science* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923), and *The Reconstruction of Religion* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), esp. chaps. ii and iii for this viewpoint.) See Justin Wroe Nixon, “The Status and Prospects of the Social Gospel”, *JR*, XXII (1942), 346 ff. Modern studies by Anglican theologians like Vigo Auguste Demant, *God, Man, Society: Introduction to Christian Sociology* (London: Morehouse, 1934); Thomas Stearns Eliot, *The Idea of a Christian Society* (Faber & Faber, 1940); and Bernard Iddings Bell, *A Catholic Looks at His World: An Approach to Christian Sociology* (Bles, 1939), are really contributions to a Christian social philosophy more than to sociology. The same is true of the comprehensive historical study of Sturzo, *Church and State*.

religions.³¹ It is a mistake to assume, as was frequently done at the high tide of the promulgation of the "social gospel", that the sociology of religion should be identical with definite programmes of social reform. Such a conception of sociology would be a betrayal of its true character as a descriptive science.

One final question should be raised. Is there a valid *raison d'être* for studies such as these as long as the more fundamental problem concerning the nature and function of sociology itself is not satisfactorily answered?³² To that we should reply that the question about the nature and functioning of the science of sociology can itself be answered only through a prior analysis of social phenomena, which, in turn, necessarily involves examinations like these into the nature of religious expression.

The study of the sociological implications of religion³³ requires an impartial and objective approach, with the facts studied without bias, "sine ira ac studio"³⁴. Certain principles, however must

³¹ Cf. Edwin Oliver James, *The Social Function of Religion* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1940); cf. also Roger Bastide, *Éléments de sociologie religieuse* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1935), esp. Part II, chap. vi.

³² It would be superfluous and impossible to list even the major contributions to the methodology of the social sciences (cf. the major articles on society, sociology, institutions, etc., in *ESS*). Some recent summaries are: Harry Elmer Barnes, *The History and Prospects of Social Sciences* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1925); Floyd Nelson House, *The Development of Sociology* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936); Howard Washington Odum, *American Masters of Social Science* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1927); H. E. Barnes and H. Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*.

³³ Contributions to the sociology of religion from the side of sociologists are not so weighty as might be expected. For methodology cf. Earle Edward Eubank, "The Fields and Problems of the Sociology of Religion", and A. E. Holt, "The Sources and Methods of the Sociology of Religion", in Luther Lee Bernard (ed.), *The Fields and Methods of Sociology* (New York: Long & Smith, 1934), pp. 162 ff. and 418 ff.; Marett, "Anthropology and Religion", in William Fielding Ogburn and Alexander Goldenweiser (eds.), *The Social Sciences* (Allen & Unwin). Cf. also, above, nn. 2 and 16, where H. R. Niebuhr's and H. Becker's studies are listed. Of great value are Ellsworth Faris' two articles in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937) (cf. below, chap. iii, n. 5) and Harlan Paul Douglass' studies in American Protestantism (cf. below, chap. vi, nn. 491 and 537-38).

In most comprehensive sociological textbooks—good and bad—is included usually a chapter on "Religion" or "The Church". Typical are: Lloyd Vernon Ballard, *Sociological Institutions* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), chap. xxv; Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1937), pp. 510 ff.; Constantine Panunzio, *Major Sociological Institutions* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), chaps. xviii, xix; H. E. Barnes and H. Becker, *Contemporary Social Theory* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), chap. xxiii.

There are many contributions from sociologists to religious statistics. Cf. *AJS*: "Regular Publications of the Institute of Social and Religious Research"; bibliography in Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmermann, *A Systematic Source-Book in Rural Sociology* (Oxford University Press, 1932); and, of course, monographs on local conditions. Cf. below, chap. vi, nn. 523 and 538.

³⁴ Cf. William Walker Rockwell's presidential address, "Rival Presuppositions in the Writing of Church History: A Study of Intellectual Bias", *PASCH*, Vol. IX (2nd ser., 1934), and Joachim Wach, *Das Verstehen* (1926), esp. Vol. II, where the problem of the historian's "objectivity" is discussed and a bibliography of the theological, philosophical, and historical discussion of the problem is given.

be observed. The first requirement is an appreciation of the vast breadth and variety of religious experience.³⁵ This implies that the basis for all sociological treatments of religion must be found, in the first place, in a wide range of phenomenological and psychological types, the existence of which has become generally acknowledged, thanks to James's famous analysis, and, second, in the multifarious historical types of religious experience. In other words, any attempt to limit the scope of our study to one religion—our own or one familiar to us—is bound to lead to insufficient and perverted conclusions.¹ The wider the range of characteristically different expressions of religious experience to which the student has access, the greater will be his insight into the subject. Contemporary studies in the history of religions, anthropology,³⁶ and sociology have greatly helped to overcome the relative paucity of material which was available only a quarter of a century ago.³⁷ The approach to be used in this study, known as the typological approach, is the middle path between the

³⁵ As long as we lack comprehensive inventories, material for the history of religions is available in encyclopedias like *ERE*, *PWRE*, *RGG*, *RLV*, and *RE*, in the works of Frazer, Otto, Heiler, van der Leeuw, Petazzoni, etc., and in the vast anthropological literature (cf. below, n. 44).

³⁶ Of the enormous number of publications in general anthropology and anthropological (ethnological) studies concerned with primitive religion, we note only a few more recent contributions:

(a) Methodology (history): Robert Harry Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory* (Harrap, 1938); Paul Radin, *The Method and Theory of Ethnology* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933).

(b) General anthropology: *General Anthropology*, ed. Franz Boas (Harrap, 1939), chap. xiv on "Religion" by R. Benedict; William I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior: An Introduction to the Social Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), chaps. v, vii, xii, xiv; P. Radin, *Social Anthropology* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932); Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1923) and *An Introduction to Social Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929); Alexander Goldenweiser, *Anthropology* (Harrap, 1937), esp. sec. III; Alfred Louis Kroeber, *Anthropology* (Harrap), chap. xii; Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man: An Introduction* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936).

(c) Primitive religion in general: Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (Routledge); Daniel G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples* (4th ed.; New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897); Paul Radin, *Primitive Religion* (Hamish Hamilton, 1938); Wilson Dallam Wallis, *Religion in Primitive Society* (New York: F. S. Crofts Co., 1939) (good bibliography).

(d) Monographs listed in Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*, pp. 809 ff., and Radin, *Social Anthropology*, pp. 411 ff. Classical monographs are reprinted in extract in Alfred Louis Kroeber and T. T. Waterman, *Source Book in Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931); particularly valuable recent monographs for our purposes are Wilfrid D. Hambly, *Source Book for African Anthropology* (*FMNH*, Vol. XXVI (1937)), and Melville Herskovits, *Dahomey* (New York: J. J. Augustine, 1938); Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (Oxford University Press, 1938); Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes* (Melbourne and London: Macmillan & Co., 1931) and *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge: University Press, 1933); Rafael Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians with Special Reference to Magic and Religion* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.); Elsie (W.) Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (2 vols.; Cambridge University Press, 1939).

³⁷ See Pinard de la Boullaye, *L'Etude comparée*, Vol. I, chaps. viii, ix.

indiscriminate historicism which forgoes the right of selection and emphasis and the narrow limitation to one, usually the student's own, faith, so well exemplified in Harnack's phrase that he who knows one religion knows them all. Elsewhere I have attempted to point out more fully the advantages of the typological approach.³⁸

Frequently we may with advantage borrow methods from procedures in other fields. The studies of Vinogradoff in the field of law and institutions are of great value to us in this respect.³⁹ He thus characterizes his method: {When we treat of facts and doctrines in ideological order, we do not for a moment mean to deny or to disregard the conditions—geographical, ethnological, political, cultural—which have determined the actual course of events." } That applies definitely to our attempt at a systematic or phenomenological study of socio-religious phenomena. The aforesaid scholar also stresses the importance of complementing the necessarily static point of view in constructing a "typical theory" (of jurisprudence) with a dynamic one. "It is not easy", he admits, "to do justice equally to both aspects of the process, and each worker will necessarily pay more attention to one aspect or the other." In Vinogradoff's opinion, the essential point is "to recognize the value of historical types as the foundation of a theory of law". We, in turn, would never be able successfully to describe and analyse types of religiously motivated grouping without the material with which the history of religions supplies us.

The second requirement for a successful inquiry into the world of religion is an understanding and appreciation of the nature and significance of religious phenomena. The inquirer must feel an affinity to his subject, and he must be trained to interpret his material with sympathetic understanding.⁴⁰

It is easy to see that two avenues of approach are open to the student of religious phenomena, of religious attitudes, and of personalities and groups. One approach is motivated and determined by the conviction that here is *the* truth. It is the "immanent" approach, used in at least half of the sources from which the sociologist, like the historian of religion in general, draws. The other approach does not exclude the possibility that the statement "Here is *the* truth" is valid, but tries to take advantage

³⁸ J. Wach, "Der Begriff des Klassischen in der Religionswissenschaft", in *Quantulumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (London: Christophers, 1937). Cf. also Howard Becker, "Constructive Typology in the Social Sciences", *ASR*, V (1940), 40 ff.

³⁹ Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1920), esp. pp. 150 ff.

⁴⁰ For the hermeneutical significance of this factor in the interpretation of religion cf. Wach, *Verstehen*, Vol. II ("Theological Hermeneutics").

of all material—that positively and that negatively valued by the “insider”—to sift and examine it critically, to place it in its context (social, historical, cultural, psychological), and to interpret the phenomenon, first, in its own nature and, second, from the background just mentioned. These two approaches are not identical with the alternative of naïve or uncritical and “scientific” or critical study, as it would appear to some. Both attempts can be made naïvely or critically. A comparative study of biographies of religious personalities or of histories of religious movements and groups shows that clearly.⁴¹

Finally, one could ask if it would not be helpful if students of religion and philosophy and students of the social sciences⁴² could meet together at periodic intervals⁴³ for reciprocal stimulation, each contributing to the development of a sociology of religion from the dimensions of his own studies.⁴⁴ Sociologists given to the study of society, of political theory and of the forms of government, could develop one side of the subject, while students of comparative religion, aided by philology, archaeology, and the various theologies, might develop the other, both together successfully elaborating a sociology of religion.

2. THE FIELD

Our purpose is to study the interrelation of religion and society and the forms of interaction which take place between them. In principle, a purely theoretical discussion is adequate, but the concrete study of empirical manifestations is indispensable to a

⁴¹ It might, therefore, be desirable to indicate briefly the viewpoint of a literary source which is quoted in the notes of a study in the sociology of religion.

⁴² Some bibliography on the development of sociological studies is listed above, n. 33. The *ESS* should be mentioned again. Talcott Parsons' very good outline (article on “Society” in *ESS*, XIV, 225 ff.) is a brief systematic presentation; Robert M. MacIver's survey in the article on “Sociology” in *ESS*, XIV, 232 ff., is an excellent historical introduction to the study of society. Most of the bibliography given in both articles is of interest for the sociologist of religion. These studies are supplemented by historical articles by various authors on “Religious Institutions”.

⁴³ Cf. the reports on the first two Conferences on Science, Philosophy and Religion, *Science, Philosophy and Religion, 1st and 2nd Symposiums* (New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1941).

⁴⁴ A very large amount of material from the history of religions is collected in William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, *The Science of Society* (Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), Vols. I–IV (1927 ff.), cf. particularly Vols. II and IV), but it is not related to a specific sociological viewpoint. The philosophical aspect of integration of society is discussed by Ralph Barton Perry, *General Theory of Value* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1926), esp. chaps. xiv–xvii.

Of the many textbooks, see Robert Morison MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (Macmillan, 1937), esp. pp. 317 ff., 352 ff. Still one of the most useful introductions to the study of primitive society is Robert Harry Lowie, *Primitive Society* (Routledge, 1925). Cf. also Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921, 1924).

thorough understanding of the subject. The theoretical approach will arm us with the necessary categories within which to organize the available material. Through the empirical approach we shall amass the wealth of data with which to corroborate the exposition of our principles.

The increased sensitivity to the sociologically relevant implications of religion has given depth to philosophical, historical, and psychological studies. Scholars have begun to concentrate on the investigation of the social background of the various historical religions, on the social implications of their message, and on the social changes resulting from their activities. Indeed, the pendulum may be said to have swung too far. As a reaction to the exaggerated amount of political, social, and cultural influence with which religion had been credited, a tendency emerged, with the rapid development of social studies in the past century, to reverse the emphasis and to interpret religion primarily or even exclusively as a product of cultural and social forces and tendencies. Much can be said for the suggestiveness of this line of attack, and very interesting results have thus far been obtained which have helped to broaden our knowledge of the social and economic presuppositions of religious thought and action. Yet, on the other hand, we must guard ourselves against accepting a course of inquiry too one-sided.⁴⁵ Max Weber, who, as indicated, has contributed more than anyone else to the formation of a sociology of religion, is the first to protest against the one-sided assumptions of social and economic materialism, and he emphatically rejects the interpretation that "the characteristic feature of a religious attitude can be simply the function of the social condition of the social stratum appearing as its representation; that this attitude would be only its 'ideological' expression or a reflex of its material or ideal interests".⁴⁶ The latter was and is the Marxist view as reflected, for example, in the *Communist Manifesto*. It has had a wide influence on social studies.

A leading modern authority on the religion of the Hebrews stated only recently that Israelite (prophetic, pharisaic, and rabbinic) traditions have to be considered as "the product of a persistent cultural battle between the submerged, unlanded groups and their oppressors, the great landowners".⁴⁷ He

⁴⁵ Cf. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, pp. 26 ff., speaking for a balance of views.

⁴⁶ Weber, *G.A.*, I, 240.

⁴⁷ Louis Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of Their Faith* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1938).

emphasizes the "primitive opposition of the semi-nomadic shepherd and the settled farmer", of the struggle of the "small peasant of the highland against the more prosperous farmer of the valley and plains", and insists that "the conflict in the cities as revealed in the resistance of the traders and artisans to the nobles and courtiers" is identical and can be reduced to "the fundamental distinction of 'patrician' and 'plebeian'". Similar explanations dominate the study of the era of the Reformation and the rise of Protestant denominations. Troeltsch has been among the first to protest against this type of one-sided approach.⁴⁸ Scholars tend to forget that, however far-reaching the influence of social motives on religion has undoubtedly been, the influences emanating from religion and reacting on the social structure have been equally great. A thorough examination of the effects of religion on the social life of mankind and of the influence of religion on the cohesion of groups, on the development and differentiation of social attitudes and patterns, and on the growth and decline of social institutions is likely to yield results of the utmost importance.

3. RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Before we can proceed to a direct examination of the interrelation and interaction of religion and society and to a typological study of the grouping thus created, we must reflect briefly upon some preliminary questions. Is religion primarily the concern of the individual or of the group? Is religion basically positive, negative, or indifferent towards "secular" social grouping? In other words, where do we find the points of contact between religion and society?

An examination of definitions of religion is beyond our scope. However, the most workable one still appears to be short and simple: "Religion is the experience of the Holy".⁴⁹ This concept

⁴⁸ *Soziallehren*, Introduction. Cf. also William Christie MacLeod, *The Origin and History of Politics* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1931), chap. x: "Economic Determinism"; and Samuel Morison in his studies on Puritanism (titles are listed below in chap. vi, n. 496). Even Ernest Sutherland Bates, *American Faith* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1940), protests (p. 12, but cf. p. 34).

⁴⁹ Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, trans. J. W. Harvey (Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1925). For some, we would think, justified criticism cf. Archibald Allan Bowman, *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1938), Vol. I, chap. vii (point of disagreement: psychological emphasis and religion of the numinous to the holy). Also David Miall Edwards, *Christianity and Philosophy* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1932), esp. chap. ii; John Morrison Moore, "The *a priori* in Rudolf Otto's Theory of Religious Experience", *RR*, II (1937), 128, and the same author's excellent study, *Theories of Religious Experience (with Special Reference to James, Otto, Bergson)* (New York: Round Table Press, Inc., 1938), esp. pp. 75 ff.

of religion stresses the objective character of religious experience⁵⁰ in contrast to psychological theories of its purely subjective (illusionary) nature which are so commonly held among anthropologists.⁵¹ We agree with Macmurray that a great deal of our modern study of religion attempts to give an account of a response without any reference to the stimulus. This stimulus we would, however, characterize quite differently.⁵² The objective concept restores to religion the full richness of meaning, which had been sadly diluted by theologians and philosophers—mostly Protestant—who, in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, succumbed to a subjectivism which Catholic theologians were more prone to reject. The turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century marks a change. The work of students of religion like Robert Ranulph Marett, Nathan Söderblom, Wilhelm Schmidt, and Rudolf Otto is in virtual, though not always conscious, agreement with modern philosophical tendencies towards "objectivism". The antipsychologism of the Austrian and German phenomenological school (Franz Brentano, Alexis Meinong, Edmund Husserl) is shared by the philosophy of religion developed by thinkers like Romano Guardini, Max Scheler, Jacques Maritain, and others.⁵³ The experience of that which Otto has so finely characterized as the "mysterium tremendum et fascinans" will ultimately defy any attempt to describe, analyse, and comprehend its meaning scientifically. Religious creative energy is inexhaustible, ever aiming at new and fuller realization. Religious experience does not readily yield to overt and unambiguous expression; yet, on the other hand, only through the forms which this experience gives itself will it be possible adequately to trace and understand its character. All who have attempted to analyse subjective religion were confronted by this "vicious circle",⁵⁴ where understanding of inner experience comes only through interpreting its objective expression; but an

⁵⁰ Brightman, *Philosophy of Religion*, chaps. i, xiv, well defines religious experience as "any experience of any person taken in its relation to his God" (p. 415). Cf. there, pp. 85 ff., his theory of religious values.

⁵¹ In one of the recent books by Radin, *Primitive Religion* (1937), the above-criticized concept of religion is formulated anew (cf. chap. i: "The Nature and Substance of Religion"). Cf. also Wach, "Das religiöse Gefühl" (*Vorträge des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin* (Univ. Leipzig), No. 4 (1931), a critical discussion of Freud's theory of religion.

⁵² John Macmurray, *The Structure of Religious Experience* ("Terry Lectures" (Faber & Faber, 1936)), pp. 20, 43.

⁵³ Cf. below, chap. ii, n. 10.

⁵⁴ The methodological problem of this "circle" has been exhaustively studied by the translator of William James into German, Georg Wobbermin, *Systematische Theologie* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1925 ff.), esp. Vol. II.

adequate interpretation itself is dependent on a prior insight into the inner experience.

The basic, genuine experience which we call "religious" tends to express or objectify itself in various ways.⁵⁵ We need a phenomenology of the expressions of religious experience, a "grammar" of religious language, based on a comprehensive empirical, phenomenological, and comparative study.⁵⁶ Philosophers have long seen this need. In conjunction with his grandiose phenomenology of the mind, Hegel has analysed successive stages of objectification.⁵⁷ He included all conceivable activities of man in this scale, but very wisely discriminated between the objective and the absolute mind, indicating that, on the level of the absolute mind, a more adequate correspondence prevails between the experience and its expression than in the sphere of antithesis, the "objective mind". Religion is regarded by Hegel as an aspect of the absolute mind. Following modern attempts at an adaptation and reinterpretation of Hegel's intuition, we would suggest that all products of the cultural activity of man such as technical achievements, economic systems, works of art, laws, and systems of thought be regarded as objective systems of culture as distinguished from all "organizations of society" such as marriage, friendships, kin groups, associations, and the state. The former are, as objective systems of culture, only indirectly the concern of the sociologist. The expression of religious experience we can include under the first heading only with hesitation, realizing full well that the core and substance of this experience defies adequate objectification. That makes its interpretation often more a perplexing than an enlightening task. A religious doctrine, a prayer, or a rite is less "objectified" than a law or a product of industry. It is obvious that both the study of the interrelation between the economic, artistic, or legal "forms" of a given group and its religious forms and the examination of

⁵⁵ In the systematic chapter of his study of theories of religious experience (cf. above, n. 49) J. M. Moore reviews various emotional, intellectual, and volitional theories of religion (chap. iv). We disagree with his criticism of the assumption of a definite quality or structure of religious experience. We can determine not only its function but also its nature in general terms (objective quality, etc.), notwithstanding the variety of its particular forms (pp. 226 ff.). Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 187 ff., for Moore's classification of types of religious experience.

⁵⁶ A similar programme is outlined by Max Ferdinand Scheler, *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* (Berlin: Der Neue Geist Verlag, 1933), pp. 277 ff., and partly anticipated in George Herbert Mead's theory of gestures (*Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), Part II).

⁵⁷ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, trans. E. B. Speirs (K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1895). Cf. below, chap. iii, n. 54.

social groupings and their correlation with religious developments are fraught with difficulties. Following Hegel, Dilthey⁵⁸ clearly demonstrated the interrelationship existing among the various objective systems of culture such as law, art, science, and—according to him—religion and the corresponding organizations of society such as tribes, states, nations, and churches, thus obviating the metaphysical construction of Hegel and of Lazarus and Steinthal's "folk psychology" (*Völkerpsychologie*).⁵⁹ Yet Dilthey, too, was over-prone to conceive unreservedly of religion as one of the systems of the objective mind. Baillie, who has given us in English⁶⁰ a fair appreciation of the tenor of Dilthey's *Philosophie der Geisteswissenschaften*, errs with the latter in also conceiving of religion as merely one more form of cultural expression.

We agree with another philosopher of religion, D. M. Edwards, who contends that the "holy" is not so much a fourth value to be added to the Good, the True, and the Beautiful as "the matrix from which they are derived, their common form and origin". Figuratively speaking, religion is not a branch but the trunk of the tree. Therefore, the analysis of any given culture entails not only the search for theologoumena, myths, or rites as a means of deciphering the religious attitude but also a process of sensing and exploring the very atmosphere and a careful study of the general attitudes revealed in the integral expression of its life. It is gratifying to note that modern anthropology strongly emphasizes the functional interrelation of the different activities and factors within cultural units.⁶¹

Still another problem requiring examination is that of spontaneity and tradition in the expression of religious experience. We have learned that even primitive man's participation in social life is a process of give and take. He takes over what was handed

⁵⁸ Unfortunately, Dilthey's writings are not translated (*Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner), Vols. I, V (pp. 371 ff.), and VII). But cf. H. A. Hodges, *Wilhelm Dilthey, An Introduction in the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1944). Cf. also John Laird, *Recent Philosophies* (London: T. Butterworth, Ltd., 1936), pp. 68 ff.; Wach, *Die Typenlehre Trendelenburgs und ihr Einfluss auf Dilthey* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1926). Rightly, modern anthropology refers to these concepts (Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, chap. iii: "Integration of Culture"; Goldenweiser, in *Contemporary Social Theory* (1940), pp. 93 ff.). Cf. also below, n. 60.

⁵⁹ Cf. Wach, *Das Verstehen*, Vol. II, chap. iii: "Die Hermeneutik Steinthals".

⁶⁰ Baillie, *Interpretation of Religion*, esp. p. 30; Edwards, *Christianity and Philosophy*, p. 55.

⁶¹ Cf., e.g., Malinowski's insistence on this point in his article on "Culture" in *ESS*, IV, 621 ff., and "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis", *AJS*, XLIV (1938), 938 ff.

down to him but not without actively participating in the modification and transformation of inherited concepts and institutions ("patterns").⁶² Recent studies in the religion of primitive peoples have demonstrated great variability even within one ethnic or geographic unit. A good example is Benedict's exceptionally revealing and brilliant monograph on *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*.⁶³ In reviewing the different forms of this concept in the various cultural areas of America, Benedict clearly illustrates, on one hand, the great extent of variability, ranging from the passive acceptance of tradition to its creative transformation,⁶⁴ and, on the other, the "enormous conventionalization" of expression even on this level of civilization. Thus it has been demonstrated that there is traceable through the whole history of worship an exceedingly intricate interplay between individual experience in religion and the various forms of traditional expression,⁶⁵ all of which is an essential part of the dynamics of religion.

⁶² R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*; W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*.

⁶³ Ruth Benedict, *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (*Mem. AAA*, Vol. XXIX (1923)), esp. p. 24; cf. Alfred Vierkandt, *Die Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1908).

⁶⁴ This aspect is greatly stressed—and over-emphasized—with regard to higher religion by some psychologists, as by Floyd Allport, *Institutional Behavior: Essays toward a Re-interpreting of Contemporary Social Organization* (Oxford University Press, 1933), chap. xx.

⁶⁵ Schleiermacher's "Discourses" are centred around this thought, especially the Fifth Discourse. Cf. now Richard B. Brandt, *The Philosophy of Schleiermacher* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1940); see also Julius Seelye Bixler, "The Spirit and the Life: A Dialogue", *RR*, I (1937), 113 ff.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND ITS EXPRESSION

I. RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND ITS FORMS OF EXPRESSION

It would be interesting to review the saga of religion as a consistent and more or less successful struggle for the adequate manifestation and expression of religious experience.¹ Creation and destruction of forms, conservation and revolution, reformation and renaissance—all these are phases² in the development of that never-ending struggle.³ It would likewise be of great interest to trace the analogies and parallels between religious forms and those in other cultural activities, such as art, jurisprudence, economics, and science.⁴ However, we shall resist the temptation to stray beyond the scope of our present study and shall concern ourselves with the questions: "Wherein do we find the nature of religion? What is the part of thought, of emotion, or of the will?"⁵ There has been no lack of one-sided theories: feeling, thinking, and willing have in turn been declared to be the essence of religious experience. Without attempting to determine its psychological constitution in detail, we feel that a definition would

¹ The metaphysical problem is well exposed in Georg Simmel, *Lebensanschauung* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1922), esp. chap. ii, "Das Gesetz der Form", following in its own way ideas of Schelling, Hegel, and Bergson. See Gerhard Loose, "Die Religionssoziologie Georg Simmels" (Leipzig diss., 1933), and Simmel's own "Contribution to the Sociology of Religion", *AJS*, XI (1905), 359 ff., a general sketch of his theory of religion.

² John Macmurray (*The Structure of Religious Experience* (Faber & Faber, 1936) sees clearly the dynamic character of religion. "Empiricism", however, is not a good term for it (p. 11).

³ It is a serious shortcoming of William James's classic study (*The Varieties of Religious Experience* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929)) that it concentrates exclusively on the subjective side, which cannot possibly be fully comprehended except through an interpretation of the expression which in turn forms religious experience. The search for the "original" experiences (chap. i) becomes then identical with that for extremest forms; "personal" religion "nakedly considered" (chap. ii) is an abstraction without reality. The definition of religion as "any total reaction upon life", with which those of Macmurray (n. 2) and Simmel (n. 1) may be compared, is too broad.

⁴ Especially the analogies in juridical and theological "dogmatics" are interesting. Cf. Joachim Wach, *Religionswissenschaft* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924), pp. 173-74.

⁵ Cf. E. S. Brightman's discussion, "Development of Religious Experience" (*A Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), pp. 423 ff.), and J. M. Moore, *Theories of Religious Experience* (New York: Round Table Press, Inc., 1938), chap. iv, a very good exposition.

have to do justice to the complexity of the processes involved.⁶ Schleiermacher was wrong in stating that ideas are all foreign to religion, just as it is hardly defensible to state that "religion is essentially reflective in character . . . born of reflection and constituted by reflection".⁷ Nor can religion be identified with one or the other instinct or drive. It has been well said that each of the one-sided conceptions of the nature of religion contains only a partial truth and that each is usually suggested by a desire to minimize the significance of its other aspects, so that the emphasis on feeling or on instinct is caused by intellectualism and their identification with reflection by an opposition to irrationalism.⁸ Be that as it may, we understand that religious experience—previously defined as experience of the holy—enfolds itself in definite attitudes and different forms of expression.

Much has been written on the relation of belief and practice in religion. Does the cultic (practical) expression of religious experience precede the theoretical or do the doctrinal elements determine the forms in which worship shall be carried out?⁹ What are the respective relations between myth and ritual, doctrine and cult, theology and worship? The most plausible interpretation would seem to be that which considers the theoretical and the practical as being inextricably intertwined and would deprecate any attempt to impute primacy to either one or the other. No act of worship can exist without some conception of the divine, nor can a religion function without at least a modicum of cultic expression. We agree with Scheler that "religious cognition is an understanding which does not exist fully prior to its cultic expression, but which has worship for a necessary vehicle of its own growth. Therefore, the religious act may be basically a mental (*geistiger*) act, but it is always of a psycho-

⁶ Surveys of the different theories of religion and discussion are given in George Galloway, *The Principles of Religious Development* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1909), chaps. iii-vi (following Hermann Siebeck's *Philosophy of Religion*, one of the best older treatments of the subject); James Bissett Pratt, *The Religious Consciousness: A Psychological Study* (Macmillan Co., 1920), pp. 14 ff., describes four aspects of religion (traditional, rational, mystical, practical). The psychological genesis of religious experience is discussed in F. S. Hickman, *Introduction to Psychology of Religion* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1926), chaps. vi-viii, and in Henry Nelson Wieman and Regina Westcott Wieman, *Normative Psychology of Religion* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1935), esp. chap. vi.

⁷ John Baillie, *The Interpretation of Religion* (T. & T. Clark, 1933), p. 232.

⁸ J. M. Moore, *Theories*, p. 180.

⁹ Cf. the famous statements of William Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (3rd ed.; A. & C. Black, 1927) (cited hereafter as "W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*"), pp. 20 ff., esp. p. 25, on the primacy of cult.

physical, not one-sidedly of psychic nature".¹⁰ We shall briefly review the developments in these two great fields of religious expression, the doctrinal and the practical, as preparations for our analysis of the structure of the third, the sociological.

2. (a) THEORETICAL EXPRESSION: DOCTRINE

A minimum of theoretical expression is always already present in the original religious intuition or experience. This intuition is often represented in symbolic form, which in itself implies elements of thought or doctrine. This first perception is formulated in more or less well-defined and coherent theoretical statements.

The comprehensive nature of such symbols has been beautifully expressed by two great poets: "What only after centuries elapsed was found by ageing reason was long revealed in the dark realm of beauty and greatness to childish thought"¹¹; and "that is genuine symbolization where the particular represents the general, not as a dream or a shadow but as a living and momentous revelation of the inexorable".¹²

Though antiquated, the work of Friedrich Creuzer, the romanticist, entitled *Symbolik*, is full of stimulating observations on the language of archaic religious experience and its grammar.¹³ Quoting the Greek philosopher Proclus, it resumes the division of religious expression in "hints" through symbols (*di'eikonon*), and "unveiled" expression through discourse (*aparakalyptos*). In this connection, we also think of Chrysostom's definition of the power of divining as the ability to recognize and see and explain signs: "Vim cognoscentem et videntem et explicantem signa". Drawing from classical sources, a modern scholar of classical religion, J. E. Harrison, bases her division of the performances (*dromena*) of the ancient mystical cults on the discrimination between things done (*dromena proper*) and things said (*legomena*).¹⁴

¹⁰ Max Scheler, *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* (Berlin: Der Neue Geist Verlag, 1933), esp. Part II, chap. vi (his theory of the religious act). On Scheler, whose works are unfortunately not translated, cf. "Symposium on the Significance of Max Scheler for Philosophy and Social Sciences", in *Philosophical and Phenomenological Research*, II (1942), 3, esp. Hannah Hafkesbrink, "The Meaning of Objectivism in Max Scheler's Philosophy of Religion".

¹¹ Schiller, "The Artists".

¹² Goethe, "Symbolism".

¹³ Georg Friedrich Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (1810 ff.) (3rd ed.; Leipzig: C. W. Leske, 1837 ff.), pp. 24, 51, 55, etc.

¹⁴ Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 42.

We shall now deal with the development of religious conceptions, first from the point of view of *form* and then from the point of view of *content*.¹⁵

What is expressed by the primitive mind¹⁶ as myth¹⁷ is conceived of in terms of doctrine at a more advanced level of civilization. Mythical language,¹⁸ however, has its own peculiar logic and standards.¹⁹ The study of primitive notions of time, space, causation, and of personality in myths is very illuminating. Frequently the stage of polymorphism, characterized by a great variety of mythical tales and traditions without unification, persists through the entire history of a civilization.²⁰ "The impression

¹⁵ John Macmurray is wrong in considering all dogmatic and speculative development in religion as "falsification" (*Religious Experience*, p. ix).

¹⁶ The logic and psychology of the "primitive" mind have been studied in general by anthropologists like Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *The "Soul" of the Primitive*, trans. Lillian A. Clare (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1928), and *Primitive Mentality*, trans. Lillian A. Clare (Allen & Unwin, 1923); Robert Ranulph Marett, *Psychology and Folklore* (London: Methuen & Co., 1920); psychologists like Richard Thurnwald, "Primitives Denken" (art.) in *RLV*, X, 294 ff.; historians of religion like Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, *Die Religionen*, Vol. I (Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1933), and more specifically in many monographs, some of which are quoted below; cf. also G. van der Leeuw, "La Structure de la mentalité primitive", *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse*, Vol. VIII (1928).

¹⁷ That practical needs and interests of daily life did more to stimulate the development of knowledge than abstract questioning is emphasized by Samuel Henry Hooke, "The Myth and Ritual Pattern of the Ancient East", in *Myth and Ritual: Essays on the Myths and Ritual of the Hebrews*, ed. S. H. Hooke (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 2-3; cf. also Florian Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), chap. iii.

¹⁸ Discussion and analysis of theories on myth and mythology in Wilhelm Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1900 ff.), II, 1, 529 ff. Cf., for material, standard works like *Mythology of All Races*, ed. Louis Herbert Gray (Boston: Marshall Jones Co. (n.d.)); *Myth and Legend in Literature and Art* (London: Gresham Pub. Co., 1916), etc. Karl Theodor Preuss, *Der religiöse Gehalt der Mythen* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933), is of little value. Much material in Franz Boas' studies of myths. Cf. his article on "Mythology" in his *General Anthropology* (Harrap, 1938), chap. xiii, and in *Race, Language, Culture* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1940).

¹⁹ See Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1923 ff.), Vol. II: *Das mythische Denken*; Paul Tillich, "Mythus" (art.), in *RGG*, IV, 363 ff.; Edwyn Robert Bevan, *Symbolism and Belief* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1938); Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic, Science and Religion", in *Science, Religion and Reality*, ed. Arthur James Balfour (cited hereafter as "Malinowski, *Magic*").

²⁰ For the South Sea area: Peter Henry Buck, *Anthropology and Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939) (cited hereafter as "Buck, *Anthropology*").

For Mexico: John Eric Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez: An Account of the Daily Life, Religion and Ritual of the Aztecs* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), chap. v; Lewis Spence, *The Gods of Mexico* (London: T. F. Unwin, Ltd., 1923), pp. 33 ff.; George C. Vaillant, *Aztecs of Mexico* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1941), chap. x.

For Peru: Thomas Athol Joyce, *South American Archaeology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), pp. 150 ff. (creator-gods and other *huaca*).

For Egypt: Adolf Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1934), chap. vi; Hermann Kees, "Ägypten" (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Walter Otto, sec. 3, Part I, Vol. III), pp. 321 ff.

For Babylonia: Alfred Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination among the Hebrews and Other Semites* (Hodder, 1938), pp. 6 ff.; Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1920), Vol. II, chaps. xiii, xv. [Contd. next page.]

of insurmountable difficulty", says a modern student of the South Sea natives, "arises from the tendency all too common in writings on Polynesia to assume that there must be 'true versions' of all Polynesian myths, and that the synthesis of these would give us a consistent system of religious ideology, of which the various conflicting versions are unfortunate distortions."²¹ No; different versions of myth and cycles of myth may coexist for a long time. This same tendency can be observed in the freedom with which, according to an excellent student of the Andaman Islanders,²² the *oko-jumu* (keepers of tradition) vary in narrating the myths of their tribe. Narratives are thus constantly changed. Nevertheless, in the course of historical development definite tendencies towards *systematization* may be discerned. Cycles of myths are arranged, which may crystallize themselves about central figures. Certain motifs become emphasized, while others are abandoned. Schemes (genealogies) are outlined, and, if the process continues, collection, standardization, and unification will follow.²³ The role played by reason and reflection is significant, being an important factor in continued development. Another factor of note is the natural desire to communicate and to propagate one's experiences.

With the situation permitting and the necessary sociological conditions being given, the way is now prepared for the establishment of an over-all *authority* to decide and define doctrine. A more or less unified system of a normative character ("doctrine") is thus substituted for a variety of independent mythological traditions, associated only by chance. This marks the origin of "theology" proper. The work of collection, redaction, and codification continues. The written tradition now replaces the

For Japan: Mahasaru Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion* (London: K. Paul Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930), pp. 19 ff.

For Persia: Henrik Samuel Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, trans. into German by Hans Heinrich Schäder (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938), chaps. v, vi.

For the Celts: John Arnott MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), esp. chaps. iii ff.

For Rome: William Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity in the Last Century before the Christian Era* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1914).

For Greece: Martin Persson Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, trans. F. J. Fielden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), chap. ii.

²¹ R. W. Williamson, *Religious and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* (Cambridge: University Press, 1937), p. 5.

²² Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders: A Study in Social Anthropology* (Cambridge University Press, 1933) (cited hereafter as "Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman*"), p. 187.

²³ The stages of this process, clearly discriminated, are well outlined by Richard Moritz Meyer, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1910), pars. 29-33, and by Buck, *Anthropology*, chap. ii.

oral tradition in the form of sacred writings.²⁴ In order to rationalize the fundamental conceptions which are the expressions of particular religious experiences, theologians develop normative systems of faith bolstered with appropriate apologetic defences. Concise summaries are embodied in creeds, while more elaborate reflections and meditations regarding the contents of the faith are left to the theologians.²⁵ Theology eventually produces philosophy. African and Polynesian mythologies illustrate the first step in this process of growth and systematization of the intellectual expression of religious experience. Babylonian, Egyptian, Mexican, Chinese, and Greek religions show the next step, which is the distinct tendency towards unification and codification. The book religions, with their well-developed dogma—Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Buddhism, Jainism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Taoism—illustrate the third step. These religions have stimulated the growth of philosophy²⁶ through their discussion of fundamentals.

The *content* of the intellectual expression of religious experience revolves about three topics of particular importance—God, the world, and man. In other words, theological, cosmological, and anthropological conceptions are continuously being evolved in terms of myth, doctrine, and dogma. The nature of God or the gods, the origin and growth of deities (theogony), and their attributes,²⁷ the relation of the deity to the world and its justification (theodicy)—all are delineated and expounded in

²⁴ Methodological: J. Wach, "Zur Hermeneutik heiliger Schriften", in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1930), CII, 280 ff.; "Interpretation of Sacred Books", *JBL*, LV (1936), 59 ff.; Alfred W. Martin, *Seven Great Bibles* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1930); Robert O. Ballou, *The Bible of the World* (Kegan Paul, 1939); Horace L. Friess, "Sacred Books" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 497 ff. Standard collections: *The Sacred Books of the East (SBE)*, ed. F. Max Müller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879 ff.); *Göttinger Quellen zur Religionsgeschichte* (Göttingen; R. Vandenhöck & Ruprecht); *Religiöse Stimmen der Völker* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs); etc.

²⁵ In Lutheran theology the discipline of symbolics carries on the comparative study of creeds and confessions of faith. Cf. J. L. Neve, *Churches and Sects of Christendom* (Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1940), pp. 41 ff.

²⁶ On the origin of philosophy in religious speculation see Wilhelm Dilthey, *Das Wesen der Philosophie*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, V, 339 ff.; 378 ff.; on comparative philosophy see Paul Masson-Oursel, *Comparative Philosophy* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1926), esp. pp. 71 ff.

²⁷ A comparative study is Lewis Richard Farnell's *The Attributes of God* ("Gifford Lectures, 1924/25" (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925)). Cf., for Judaism, David Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie* (1877). In Christian, Jewish, Islamic, Hindu, and Buddhist theology the doctrine of the divine attributes becomes a central dogmatic issue.

theology.²⁸ Cosmology²⁹ is concerned with the origin, development, various phases, and destiny of the world, while theological anthropology,³⁰ including soteriology and eschatology, ponders over the origin, nature, and destiny of man.

It is interesting to compare some of the completely integrated primitive mythical conceptions of the cosmos with the less homogeneous, more differentiated systems of a highly developed theology and philosophy. Since the elaborate systems of West Africa and Polynesia, of south-western America, the Pueblo region, and Mexico have become better known, the temporary gap in our knowledge between the world of the very primitive peoples and the great ancient civilizations like China, India, Babylonia, Greece and Rome has become well-nigh closed. Most of these systems are cosmocentric and theocentric. Although many philosophical elements may be included in the mythology of a people, there is in the original stages little theoretical emphasis. Totemism,³¹ for example, is theoretical in part, but it emphasizes a regimen of practical ethics³²—an emphasis even more pronounced in the great theologies of the more advanced religions.

With development and differentiation proceeding at an ever faster pace, as in Judaism, Parsiism, Hinduism, and Confucianism, a new and very interesting phase is ushered in with the emergence

²⁸ Cf. the more recent comprehensive attempts at a synthesis: Nathan Söderblom, *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: H. J. Hinrichs, 1926); Raffaele Petazzoni, *Dio: formazione e sviluppo del monoteismo nella storia degli religioni* (Rome: Società Athenaeum, 1922), Vol. I; Wilhelm Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (English abbr. trans. by H. J. Rose: *The Origin and Growth of Religious Facts and Theories* (Methuen, 1931); William Foxwell Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940). See also William Ernest Hocking, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience: A Philosophic Study of Religion* (Oxford University Press, 1912), Part II; David Miall Edwards, *Christianity and Philosophy* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1932), chaps. vi-x; Shailer Mathews, *The Growth of the Idea of God* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931).

²⁹ Comparative cosmology: Konrat Ziegler and S. Oppenheim, *Weltentstehung in Sage und Wissenschaft* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1925); James George Frazer, *Creation and Evolution in Primitive Cosmogonies* (Macmillan, 1935); L. de Saussure, "La Cosmologie en Chine, dans l'Iran et chez les prophètes hébreux", *Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions* (Paris, 1923), II, 77 ff.

³⁰ J. Wach, *Typen religiöser Anthropologie: Ein Vergleich der Lehre vom Menschen im religiösen Denken von Orient und Okzident* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1932); Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (Nisbet, 1941).

³¹ Cf. James George Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy: A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society* (1910); suppl.: *Totemica* (Macmillan, 1937); A. Goldenweiser, "Totemism" (art.), in *ESS*, XIV, 657 ff.; Malinowski, *Magic*: "... Totemism has taught anthropology yet another lesson: it has revealed the importance of the sociological aspect in all early forms of cult" (pp. 24, 45); Wilhelm Koppers, "Der Totemismus", *Anthropos*, XXXI (1936), 159 ff.

³² Cf. for primitive society the excellent analysis in Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman*, chap. v.

of a "Wisdom Literature".³³ Theory and practice remain closely knit, but the former is gradually subordinated to the latter and man rather than God comes to be the centre of interest. We have here the first throes of the emancipation of ethics from theology and religious doctrine.³⁴ This process can be most clearly followed in the history of the Greek religion from its origin until its transformation into a philosophy of religion. Here the discovery of *theoria* was made, and we find in Aristotle's system a scheme for the organization of knowledge,³⁵ evidencing the first beginnings of the pursuit of a theory for its own sake ("science"). It is a long road from the heroic age with its accepted mythological explanations of the universe to the wisdom of theologians like Pherecydes and from them, in turn, to the encyclopaedia of methodological and rational learning in the Stoic systems.

The contributions of the great religious leaders whom we designate "founders of religions" should also be interpreted in the light of this development. In the vision (prime intuition) of each of them is contained a germ of theory, later to be developed into doctrine and from there possibly into dogma either by the founder himself or by his followers. In the original experience, however, or in its primary expression it is difficult to differentiate between theory and practice, between theology and ethics. An attempt to analyse the original vision of Mohammed or the Buddha's great experience of enlightenment would convince one that they are not susceptible to demarcation into theory and practice.

3. (b) PRACTICAL EXPRESSION: CULTUS

It is by now readily apparent that the second category of the expression of religious experience, the cultic or practical, is closely related to the first. What is formulated in the theoretical statement of faith is done in religiously inspired acts. In a wider

³³ For a discussion of Wisdom Literature see Harry Ranston, *The Old Testament Wisdom Books and their Teaching* (London: Epworth Press, 1930); William Oscar Emil Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament in the Light of the Newly Discovered Teaching of Amen-em-ope* (S.P.C.K.); Robert Oliver Kevin, *The Wisdom of Amen-em-apt and its Possible Dependence upon the Hebrew Book of Proverbs* (Philadelphia: Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, 1931).

³⁴ Cf. Joyce O. Herzler's valuable excerpts from and discussion of the ethical norms of the ancient religions (*The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations* (1st ed.; New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936)); Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution* (new ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1915); H. E. Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Law* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1938), Vol. I, chaps. i-iv.

³⁵ Cf. Werner Jaeger, *Aristotle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934).

sense, all actions which flow from and are determined by religious experience are to be regarded as practical expression or *cultus*. In a narrower sense, however, we call *cultus* the act or acts of the *homo religiosus*: worship. Religion as such has been defined as worship;³⁶ experiences of the holy are in all religions expressed in acts of reverence towards the numen whose existence is intellectually defined in terms of myth, doctrine, and dogma. Van der Leeuw has given us a comprehensive phenomenological survey of cultic acts based on a broad study of religion in all its forms.³⁷ Underhill, to whom we are indebted for some of the most significant contributions to the study of worship, divides these acts into (1) ritual (liturgical pattern), (2) symbols (images), (3) sacraments (visible things and deeds), and (4) sacrifice—a very useful classification for a systematic inquiry into the nature, relation, and meaning of cultic acts. We are inclined to agree with an excellent student of the Old Testament who states: "Worship is not merely an accident but a genuine and essential expression of religion which likes to penetrate the totality of the human life in making not only its spiritual and personal but also its material side a vehicle and mediator of its effects".³⁸ The essential fallacy, so prevalent to-day, of confusing the intellectual formulation of religion with its basic nature and function,³⁹ could be avoided if we recognized the fact that theory is not the most significant or essential part of religion. Worship is, in fact, so integral to religion that it is doubtful if the latter could continue to exist without it.⁴⁰ The problem of the interrelation of cult and doctrine in the

³⁶ The finest appreciation of this aspect of religion we find in Evelyn Underhill's book, *Worship* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1937); cf. also Yngve T. Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelic and Catholic*, trans. A. G. Hebert (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge; New York and Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1930); Arthur Gabriel Hebert, *Liturgy and Society: The Function of the Church in the Modern World* (London: Faber & Faber, 1935). For the study of cult from the point of view of "psychology of religion" cf. Hickman, *Introduction to the Psychology of Religion*, chaps. vi ff.; William Boothby Selbie, *The Psychology of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), chaps. v, xi; Wieman and Wieman, *Normative Psychology*, chaps. v, vii ff., who define "devotion" and "value" as the two main elements of religious life (pp. 27 ff., 37, etc.). Cf. also below, n. 48.

³⁷ Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1933), chaps. xlviii-lxvi; Wilson D. Wallis, *Religion in Primitive Society* (New York: F. S. Crofts Co., 1939), chap. xii.

³⁸ Walther Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933), I, 414.

³⁹ For the interrelation of myth and cult in ancient Asia cf. the collection of *Essays on Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke (above, n. 17), with monographs on the ritual, ceremonies, and festivals of ancient Asia. For the synagogal worship cf. William Oscar Emil Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue: An Introduction to the Study of Judaism from the New Testament Period* (London: Pitman, 1911).

⁴⁰ Pratt, *Religious Consciousness*, chap. xii: "The Cult and Its Causes".

different religions has often been discussed and as differently answered.

A cursory review of the studies in Nordic folklore and religion is in this respect particularly illuminating.⁴¹ The founder of the Nordic discipline in the early nineteenth century, Jakob Grimm, combined an interest in theoretical expression (mythological) with a keen appreciation of the cultic, legal, and institutional elements. Schwartz, who followed Grimm, emphasized the interpretation of the mythological traditions, but Mannhardt, in the second half of the century, restricted himself to a comprehensive exploration of popular rites.⁴² A similar difference in emphasis can be traced in the studies of the Semitic religions. Robertson Smith was prompted to write his *Religion of the Semites* by his indignation over the scholarly neglect of the cultic factor in religion.⁴³ In the field of Old Testament studies the controversies over the interpretations of the Psalms culminated in Mowinkel's theory of their origin in the cult.⁴⁴ Brinton,⁴⁵ a leading scholar in primitive cults, opposed the theory that ritual is "the source of all religions", set forth by Otto Gruppe, as well as the view of Robertson Smith that myths are derived from ritual and claimed in turn that "every rite is originally based on a myth".

From the simplest acts and rites in honour of the gods⁴⁶ there emerged the complicated and elaborate patterns of ritual⁴⁷ which characterize religions like Judaism, Parsiism, Brahmanism, and Roman and Eastern Catholicism.⁴⁸ Midway on the scale we find

⁴¹ Cf. R. M. Meyer, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 35.

⁴² Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin: Gebrüder Bornträger, 1875; new ed., 1904); cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 608-9. Criticism: Erwin Wienecke, *Untersuchungen zur Religion der Westslawen* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1940), pp. 307 ff.

⁴³ W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*.

⁴⁴ Cf. *The Psalmists: Essays on Their Religious Experience and Teaching*, ed. D. C. Simpson (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1925).

⁴⁵ Daniel Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples* (4th ed.; New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), p. 173.

⁴⁶ Cf. Hermann Usener, "Heilige Handlung", *ARW*, VII (1904), 281 ff.; Ernst Maass, "Segnen, Weihen, Taufen", *ARW*, XXI (1922), 241 ff.; *Essays on Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke.

⁴⁷ There are ritualistic religions even in "primitive" society. Lowie speaks of the Polynesian religion as "acme of formalism" (*Primitive Religion* (Routledge), p. 95). Cf. R. H. Lowie, "Ceremonialism in North America", *AA*, XVI (1914), 602 ff.; Ruth Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism", *BAE*, XLVII (1932), 471 ff., emphasizing the "diversification of function" and "piling up and telescoping of distinct ceremonies" (p. 508). Also E. C. Parsons, "Hopi and Zuñi Ceremonialism", *AA*, Vol. XXIX (1933).

⁴⁸ Cf. on worship in the Eastern Christian churches, Friedrich Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche* (München: E. Reinhardt, 1937), esp. pp. 239 ff.; for Protestantism: Andrew W. Blackwood, *The Fine Art of Public Worship* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1939); Clarence Seidenspinner, *Form and Freedom in Worship* (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1941).

the observation of the taboo of sacred times and localities⁴⁹ and the performance of cultic acts as part of a comprehensive system of interpretation of the cosmos, of the will of the deity (Japanese, Chinese, Babylonian, Etruscan, Roman, and Mexican systems of divination), or as single rites for a definite purpose (lustration, prayer, sacrifice). These may be well organized and codified, grouped as parts of a ceremonial system with local, periodic, and individual variations, or they may be loosely and haphazardly connected, being occasionally associated for the use of those engaged in the performance of religious functions. The history of the cult reveals the same continuous interplay between compulsion and tradition, on the one hand, and the constant drive for individual liberty, making for the emergence of new impulses and the creative activity of *homines religiosi*, on the other, which we observed in the development of thought patterns. As a matter of fact, a good deal of the dynamics of the history of religion is traceable to its dialectics.⁵⁰

4. (c) SOCIOLOGICAL EXPRESSION: COMMUNION; COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL RELIGION

The theoretical and practical expressions of religious experience are complemented by a third aspect, the sociological. "Vital religion, by its very nature, must create and sustain a social relationship."⁵¹ In his stimulating lectures on the structure of religious experience⁵² John Macmurray tries to persuade us that the field of religion is the field of personal relations—a theory which does justice to the element of sharing and of togetherness in religion, but is in danger of coming close to the positivistic misinterpretation of the object of worship as the collective self. It is not right that "in all our relations with one another we are in the field of religion", that religion is "the conscious realization of mutual interdependence."⁵³ This realization is the sociological consequence of the basic religious experience of dependence upon the holy; it is secondary, important as it is. Macmurray,

⁴⁹ Van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie*, secs. 55, 57, and below, chap. iv.

⁵⁰ From the psychological point of view cf. Selbie, *Psychology of Religion*, chaps. vii, viii; Pratt, *Religious Consciousness*, chap. xii; cf. also Luther Sheeleigh Cressman, "Ritual the Conserver", *AJS*, XXXV (1929-30), 564 ff.

⁵¹ Sidney George Dimond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival: An Empirical and Descriptive Study* (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1926), p. 208. The chapter on the "Group Spirit" is very instructive.

⁵² Cf. above, n. 2.

⁵³ Cf. John Macmurray, *Religious Experience*, chap. ii (quotation in text, pp. 23, 41-42; a dangerous formulation, p. 70 (function of religion: "extension of family unity of affection to wider groups")).

who is right in emphasizing the social aspects of religion but wrong in making a derivative its core, naturally thinks highly of symbolic communal activities. His interpretation, that they are not only "celebrations of the consciousness of communion" but also prompted by the realization of the "precariousness" of all communion, is very profound and suggestive. Religious ceremonial is, for him, never merely an expression of the consciousness of communion but also a means for sustaining it. Human relationship becomes, as it were, ennobled when it becomes "intended", as it will be under the stimulus of religious experience. We feel, however, that the religious conservation of social bonds in higher religion definitely not only perfects but also breaks natural ties. Spiritual communion is not just the continuation of the natural (cf. below, chap. v, sec. 1).

But we are ahead of ourselves. We will examine the material which the history of religion offers with the intention of studying its sociological effect. Our first consideration is to determine whether communal, co-operative, and joint activity in religious matters is integral and basic to religious experience or whether it is an accidental phenomenon.⁵⁴ Are there religious attitudes so decidedly individual in character that by their very nature they exclude participation or communion with others? It can be easily seen that the answers to this question will reflect individual conceptions of the nature, function, and significance of religion. In her *Principles of Corporate Worship*, Evelyn Underhill pointedly comments: "Therefore corporate and personal worship, though, in practice, one commonly tends to take precedence over the other, should complete, reinforce, and check each other".⁵⁵ Scheler, no doubt, adequately expresses Catholic philosophy when he states that ultimately "each religious act is always simultaneously an individual and a social act, that the phrase 'Unus Christianus, nullus Christianus'—one Christian is no Christian—applies in a large sense to all religions".⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Cf. the suggestive analysis in George Herbert Mead, *The Philosophy of the Act*, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), chap. xxv, and below, chap. iii, n. 11. Cf. also Milton B. Singer, *G. H. Mead, Selected Readings from his Works and an Introduction to his Sociological and Philosophical Writings*, to be published in the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.).

⁵⁵ P. 84.

⁵⁶ Scheler, *Vom Ewigen im Menschen*, p. 557. Cf. there his programme for a study of *Gemeinschaftsformen* and his "sociological demonstration of the existence of God" (pp. 149 ff.). Cf. also James Henry Hoban, *The Thomistic Concept of Person and Some of Its Social Implications* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1939); and John A. Ryan, *Catholic Principles of Politics* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1940), chaps. ii and ix.

Protestantism, while conceiving of the church as a communion of saints and keenly aware of the unity of this group,⁵⁷ is on the whole inclined to place stronger emphasis on the individual and on his direct responsibility to God. Nevertheless, within Protestantism itself there are wide ranges of difference in the evaluation of the role of the individual, according to the various conceptions held by the different denominational communities. This evaluation may vary considerably within one body either in various phases of its development or within any given phase. Just as Protestantism generally lays more stress on the individual than Eastern Orthodox Christianity, so does Methodism emphasize the individual more than Anglicanism. Again, in the Lutheran church, the period of Pietism and of the *Erweckungsbewegung*⁵⁸ (nineteenth century), notwithstanding its inclination to the formation of intimate groups, is marked by a more pronounced interest in individual piety than is found in the era of orthodoxy or of confessionalism (seventeenth and nineteenth centuries). Sectarian groups reflect this same tendency; the individualistic attitudes of the holiness and, to a certain extent, of the healing movements contrast sharply with the more collectivistic feeling of the charismatic (spiritualistic) or "communist" groups.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century many scholars were of the opinion that the development of religion is marked by a gradual but irrevocable "progress" from collectivism to individualism and that this universal trend is well exemplified by the advance of Christianity over paganism, of Protestantism over Catholicism, and of liberal Protestantism against classical Protestantism of the Lutheran or Calvinist vintage. The past half-century, with its increase in detailed historical knowledge and growing interest in all forms of Christianity, official and unofficial, has taught us to regard with suspicion any such hasty generalization. Certain types of religious attitudes, such as mysticism, rationalism, and spiritualism, tend to recur in one form or another in widely separated historical contexts, and they

⁵⁷ Cf. William Adams Brown, *The Church, Catholic and Protestant: A Study of Differences That Matter* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), esp. chaps. vii, ix, pp. 213 ff. and 253 ff.: "In what sense a Protestant is an Individualist". Cf. also the interesting contributions in Heinrich H. Maurer, "Studies in the Sociology of Protestantism", *AJS*, XXX (1924), 257 ff., and particularly XXXI (1925), 39 ff.; A. D. Lindsay, "Individualism" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 675 ff. Also Ernest Barker, *Church, State and Society* (London: Methuen & Co., 1930), pp. 114 ff., on the Puritan "deep sense of individual personality". See also below, chap. v, secs. 6 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. "Revival" (art.), in *ESS*, XIII, 363 ff., and below, chap. v, sec. 10. This movement favoured all types of religious communion, from the hermitage to ecclesiastical constitution.

determine the evaluation of the individual in his relation to the community. Such attitudes in different Christian groups have been studied in their sociological matrix by Troeltsch and by others. These scholars have shown that developments which were regarded as peculiar to the modern world already had their preview in ancient Greece or in the Middle Ages.

Thus we see that the notion of the fundamental subject of religion—whether it should be the individual or the group—has varied considerably. The conception of the religious community illustrated by the civic cults of the ancient world was far different from ours. They placed all emphasis on the worship of the group and would have considered individual worship (had they thought of it) as an abstraction without much independent validity. Primitive religion seems to go even further in this respect. "Greek religion", we are told,⁵⁹ "was a matter of social groups like the family or tribe or the state before it was a matter of the individual. The growth of the concept of individuality in Roman soil was retarded by the excessive degree to which the social idea was developed. The individual existed merely for the sake of the family and its derivatives, the clan and the state."⁶⁰ Of the Japanese society it could be said: "A sacred meaning attached to the conception of family under this system. The individual was swallowed up in the common family life, not temporarily but permanently."⁶¹

Yet these confident generalizations conveniently overlook the numerous exceptions. Even though fully aware of the stress on collective religion in the aforesaid cultural contexts, we must recognize the outstanding roles played by the leaders and their highly individual contributions; and we should not fail to acknowledge the existence of very personal religious experiences even on primitive levels. As one of the outstanding authorities on primitive religion phrased it, "Such facts as the seclusion of novices at initiation, their individual personal struggles during the ordeal, the communion with spirits—all these show us primitive religion frequently lived through in solitude".⁶² The same scholar feels justified in concluding that "hence all these facts,

⁵⁹ *ERE*, V, 137.

⁶⁰ *ERE*, V, 146. Cf. also Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique: étude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome* (20th ed.; Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1908), trans. Willard Small as: *The Ancient City* (11th ed.; Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1901), Books II, III; Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), Vol. II.

⁶¹ *ERE*, V, 740.

⁶² Malinowski, *Magic*, p. 54.

though they certainly do not prove that religion is exclusively individual, make it difficult to understand how it can be regarded as the social pure and simple". We agree with Malinowski's sober formulation: "Thus the collective and the religious, though impinging on each other, are by no means co-extensive".⁶³ Or, as Benedict puts it: "In reality society and the individual are not antagonists".⁶⁴

Two factors appear to be essential in the development of a more highly individualistic religion: a gradual emancipation of the individual from the influence of his cultural and social background and a continuous process of differentiation within the civilization itself.⁶⁵ This twofold process takes place even in the world of the primitive man.⁶⁶ After reviewing the conception of property held in various primitive tribes, such as the Indian Crow, the New Guinea Kai, and the Eskimo, Lowie concludes: "Even in these unusually communistic societies the individualistic motive, while submerged, is not wholly lacking". In the Orient this tendency is even more evident,⁶⁷ but the peak of individualism is reached in the civilizations of the West, prepared by the unique tradition of classical civilization⁶⁸ and deepened by the contributions of

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶⁴ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Routledge, 1946), chap. viii, esp. p. 181. Cf. also Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea: A Comparative Study of Primitive Education* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1942), chap. xiii: "Personality and Tradition". Cf., by the same author, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth* (London: Routledge, 1928).

⁶⁵ Robert M. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (Macmillan, 1937), p. 48.

⁶⁶ The individual note in the activity of even primitive groups has been, in harmony with his psychological interest, stressed by Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, chaps. i and xi ("Individual Variability"). Here convincing examples appear. Excellent argument against over-emphasis on economic "collectivism" are: Richard Thurnwald, *Economics in Primitive Communities* (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1932) (cited hereafter as "Thurnwald, *Economics*"), pp. 266 ff. (more "individualism" among herdsmen, "collectivism" among agriculturists", p. 278); Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 205 ff. There the clear distinction of "communion" and "collectivism" (pp. 209, 210), and the discussion of individual property with reference to visionary experience (pp. 237 ff.).

⁶⁷ An interesting discussion of this problem appears in *The Individual in East and West*, ed. Ernest Richard Hughes (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1937). R. R. Marett deals here with the individual in primitive society. Cf. also Lowie, *Primitive Society*, chap. vii; Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, chap. vii.

⁶⁸ Cf. especially Sir Samuel Dill, *Roman Society*, Vol. I: *From Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (2nd ed., 1905), Vol. II: *In the Last Century of the Western Empire* (2nd ed., 1899), Vol. III: *In Gaul in the Merovingian Age* (1926) (London and New York: Macmillan Co.); and studies on Hellenistic religion as Julius Kärst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1917, 1926); Paul Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum* (3rd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1912), esp. chap. iii: "Kosmopolitismus und Individualismus"; Samuel Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* (London: J. Murray, 1925); Richard Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (3rd ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927); Arthur Derby Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1933); Campbell Bonner, "Some Phases of Religious Feeling in Later Paganism", *HTHR*, XXX (1937), 119 ff.

prophetic Judaism⁶⁹ and Christianity.⁷⁰ The great importance of the Hellenistic period⁷¹ inheres negatively in the dissolution of the traditional identical organizations and positively in the emergence of new types of piety and concomitant specifically religious associations.⁷² A sociologically most important aspect of the development of religious individualism is the growing separation of religious and natural communities. This will be later discussed in detail (cf. below, chap. v).

A word might be added, however, concerning the significance of the Christian concept of the individual as it relates to our problem. Based originally on the Scriptures and reinterpreted by the great reformers, this notion has become dominant⁷³ in the philosophies of Pascal, Kant, and Kierkegaard.⁷⁴ The last-mentioned, whose theology is of great though negative interest to the sociologist of religion, draws the ultimate logical conclusion that the individual (*der Einzelne*) is the basic sociological and religious category. Similar ideas have been expressed in modern

⁶⁹ Cf. particularly Henry Wheeler Robinson's work, *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (Duckworth, 1938), pp. 87 ff.; "The Conception of Corporate Personality", in *Das Werden des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1936); also W. A. L. Elmslie, "Ethics", in *Record and Revelation: Essays on the Old Testament*, ed. H. W. Robinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), esp. pp. 295 ff., who thinks that the ethics of Israel held together in "most admirable unity the interests of the individual as well as those of society" (p. 297) and, in comparing it to modern collectivist theories, concludes that these are "radically divergent and ethically lower than the ideal of the religiously determined covenant of brethren" which the prophets envisaged (p. 299).

⁷⁰ A sober discussion of the emphasis on the individual in the message of Jesus we find in Cecil John Cadoux, *The Early Church and the World: A History of the Christian Attitude to Pagan Society* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1925) (cited hereafter as "Cadoux, *The Early Church*"), p. 9. There appears further bibliography.

⁷¹ Cf. George Hogarth Carnaby MacGregor and A. C. Purdy, *Jew and Greek, Tutors unto Christ: The Jewish and Hellenistic Background of the New Testament* (Nicholson & Watson, 1936), Part II.

⁷² Cf. chaps. iv and v and particularly George la Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire", *HTHR*, XX (1927), 183 ff., a brilliant contribution to the sociology of religion.

⁷³ This process has been studied by J. Burckhardt, W. Dilthey, M. Weber, and W. Sombart. Cf. also Ernst Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Renaissance* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927), and Ralph T. Flewelling, *The Survival of Western Culture* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1943), Sec. I.

⁷⁴ Søren Kierkegaard, *Gesammelte Werke* (German trans. by Chr. Schrempf (Jena: Diederichs, 1922); English trans. nearly complete). Cf. especially *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, trans. David F. Swanson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941). The concept *den enkelte* is already latent in the dissertation on the irony of Socrates and is set forth in "Entweder-Oder" ("jeder kann der Einzelne werden") and the Diaries. On Kierkegaard cf. Walter Lowrie, *Kierkegaard* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938); David Ferdinand Swanson, *Something about Kierkegaard* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub. House, 1941); Otto F. Kraushaar, "Kierkegaard in English (I)", *Journal of Philosophy*, XXXIX (1942), 561 ff.

On the "theology of crisis", which follows to a large extent the "Christian Nietzsche", cf. Edwin Ewart Aubrey, *Present Theological Tendencies* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1936), chap. iii.

philosophy and in Protestant theology. Whitehead, for instance, in defining religion as the "art and theory of the internal life of man", considers his definition as "the direct negation of the theory that religion is primarily a social fact".⁷⁵ For him religion can be condensed into "what the individual does with his solitariness", and in collective acts he discerns only the "trappings of religion". Religion of the personal type not only differs with the individual, according to a modern psychologist, but "resists all attempts at its communication to others".⁷⁶ From this point of view, not uncommon in Christian sectarianism and in Buddhist theology, the problem of the possibility, legitimacy, and limitations of the communion of religious experience projects itself with unparalleled gravity. Only if they conceive of religious experience as something exclusively personal are those who repudiate church organization, church discipline, and church law backed by solid premises.⁷⁷ We shall deal in another chapter of this book with the eternal protest, voiced all through the history of religion in the name of individual experience and initiative, against developments which appear to endanger individual growth and freedom. A spiritualized concept of religious community, to be realized within the traditional group, may be developed to unite those who would otherwise strive independently after religious perfection ("parallelism of individual spontaneities"), or this ideal may lead to an attempt to establish a "true" community in the faith, independent from any existing association (see below, chap. v, secs. 10-12).

The sociologist of religion will have to study and to classify with care the typologically different organizational structures resulting from divergent concepts of religious communion. He will trace their historic development, and it will be his task to investigate different ideas of fellowship in religion, a concept ubiquitous in all periods and in all parts of the world.

⁷⁵ Alfred North Whitehead, *Religion in the Making* ("Lowell Lectures" (Cambridge University Press, 1927)), pp. 6, 48, but cf. pp. 64-65. Cf. also William James's definition of religion ("experiences of individual men in their solitude") (*Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 35 (1925 ed., p. 31)).

⁷⁶ Floyd Allport, *Institutional Behavior: Essays toward a Re-interpreting of Contemporary Social Organization* (Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 423, 427-28.

⁷⁷ For a theory of ecclesiastical law based on a spiritualistic interpretation of religious communion in Protestantism cf. Rudolph Sohm, *Kirchenrecht* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1892, 1923); *Wesen und Ursprung des Katholizismus* (1912); *Das altkatholische Kirchenrecht: Festschrift für Adolf Wach* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1918). Cf. Adolf von Harnack, *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries*, trans. F. L. Pogson (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910), Appen. I; Günther Holstein, *Die Grundlagen der evangelischen Kirchenrechts* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1928).

CHAPTER III

SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES

1. THE SOCIOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF RELIGION

Three typologically distinct attitudes towards religious fellowship may prevail: first, the naïvely affirmative, characteristic of those groups in which natural and religious organizations coincide; second, the negative, best illustrated by radical asceticism; third, the selectively positive, which limits religious communion, quantitatively or qualitatively.

A comparative study of the types of religious communion would necessarily involve an analysis of the motives for its establishment and of its significance for and effect on the members.¹ This implies that the purely sociological inquiry² would have to be supplemented by an examination of the self-interpretation (ideology)³ of the group, organization, or body. The term "ideology" is used here in the broader sense of theoretical explication and self-designation and not in the modern limited sense of a purely subjective concept or illusion. We have stressed above the onesidedness of a purely psychological or sociological interpretation which enables us to understand the framework and structure of a picture but cannot of itself explain or reproduce the content.⁴ The psychological or sociological analysis, no matter how penetrating, of the religious values for which a group stands cannot disavow the binding character of those values upon the group. As with all experience, the fact of common or parallel religious

¹ A. E. Holt, "The Sources and Methods of the Sociology of Religion", in Luther Lee Bernard (ed.), *The Fields and Methods of Sociology* (New York: Long & Smith, 1934), p. 419, makes the presupposition that every religious group has five characteristics. It has a history, exists in some present community, has structure, has characteristic behaviour, and has purposes.

² Cf., e.g., Joyce Oramel Hertzler, *The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936), pp. 57 ff., 101 ff., and chap. ii.

³ Cf. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (Kegan Paul, 1940), esp. pp. 49 ff.

⁴ The problem was seen clearly by William James. Cf. his distinction between the question of the origin and of the significance of a phenomenon, and his criticism of Taine (*The Varieties of Religious Experience* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929), chap. i) and of "the assumption that spiritual value is undone if lowly origin is asserted" and of "medical materialism", trying to decide spiritual significance by mere causal inquiry. Cf. also his protest against the assumption that knowledge about a thing is the thing itself (substitution of science of religion for religion) and the treatment of religion as a mere survival (*ibid.*, "Conclusions").

experiences within a group acts as a powerful cohesive force.⁵ Motives of self-protection or of propagation also play their role in creating feelings of solidarity which unite the members.

That does not necessarily mean that the official creed or statement of beliefs in which a particular group sees its basic religious experience formulated will have to be taken as an adequate expression or description of the social or psychological motives which contributed to its origin. We have to allow for the possibilities of error and, maybe, of more or less subtle (self-) deception on the side of the formulators and their followers. The history of sectarianism supplies examples for that. Here psychology, psychosociology, and psychopathology (= analysis) might render valuable services in an endeavour to decipher and interpret concepts and forms as to genuineness and ulterior (unconscious) meaning and motivation (Freud, Jung, Pareto).⁶ Yet the sociologically relevant facts are just those concepts, rites and forms, reflecting a very definite experience which integrates a religious group and at the same time separating it as a sociological unit from the outside world. It is particularly interesting to compare the attitudes and ideologies of specifically religious groups (churches, sects) with those groups which are both religious and natural (family, tribe). A different attitude towards outsiders is theoretically prescribed and actually followed in both cases, the "non-believer" in the second instance being doubly separated (by blood and by faith).

[The influence of religion, sociologically speaking, then, is twofold: there is a positive or cohesive integrating influence and there is a negative, destructive, disintegrating influence.] A new faith creates a new world in which old conceptions and institutions may lose their meaning and *raison d'être*.⁷ Natural and historical data become abrogated, and a new order of things replaces the old. These changes may be revolutionary, much depending on the extent to which a reinterpretation (consecration) of the traditional element is possible. The preaching of a new

⁵ Cf. Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), chap. v; Robert Cooley Angell, *The Integration of American Society: A Study of Groups and Institutions* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941), esp. chap. ix.

⁶ Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society*, ed. Arthur Livingston, trans. Andrew Buongiorno (Jonathan Cape, 1935). On his theory of residues, derivatives, and derivations cf. F. Borkenau, *Pareto* (Chapman & Hall, 1936). Cf. also Walter Hollitscher, *Freud, Selected Readings and a Study concerning the Relationship between Psycho-Analysis and Sociology*. To be published in the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction (London: Kegan Paul).

⁷ Cf. below, chap. v, sec. 7.

faith, even if it should be of a universal character, is addressed primarily to one group of people which may be more or less homogeneous. In culturally higher, differentiated societies the background of the converts is often very heterogeneous.

How does the integration of so disparate a group take place? The development of the early Christian church, of the Buddhist and the Jaina Samgha, or of the Mohammedan and Zoroastrian communities provides us with relevant material. At this level, specific problems arise as a result of more intensive religious experiences. The major emphasis is laid on the core of this experience, that is, communion with God; this relation then takes precedence over all other conceivable (interhuman) relations. But with the development and intensification of religious life in the new group, communication of this experience becomes more difficult. Whereas the symbol, the common means of expression at earlier stages of development, has allowed for a certain degree of flexibility and ease of interpretation, the growth of more rational conceptions and of more evolved rites tends to make its comprehension more complicated. In other words, if the traditional symbols are to serve further as a basis for communality, they will have to be more precisely defined. There often are factors which lead to a repetition, on a higher level, of religious integration as described above: a smaller, more intensive religious élite is formed (*ecclesiola in ecclesia*), bound together by deeper experiences, by stricter precepts, or by a stricter organization than the one open to the masses.⁸ The reaction of the outside world which tends to unite the members of the new group more intensely should also not be overlooked.⁹

[In discussing religious fellowship, we must be aware of the reciprocal¹⁰ nature of the process by which the spirit and attitudes of a religious community are created by its members; their individual attitudes and concepts in turn are greatly influenced by the group.¹¹] (Development of a specific terminology, habits, and customs.) This mutual stimulation has been observed by

⁸ Cf. below, chap. v, secs. 10 ff.

⁹ This viewpoint is well brought out by Sidney George Dimond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival* (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1926), pp. 208 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. Faris, *op. cit.*, p. 146, important for the history of the beginnings of cults and of sectarianism.

¹¹ Cf. the emphasis on this reciprocity in George Herbert Mead, *The Philosophy of the Act*, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), chaps. xxii and xxvi, and the important analysis of the social self in *Mind, Self, and Society*, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), esp. secs. 7-10, 18 ff., 33, 37.

students of language and other creative activities. The great Wilhelm von Humboldt, for example, whose philosophy of language is still one of the profoundest and most comprehensive treatments of the subject,¹² articulated the very important principle that the speaking group creates speech but that speech also is instrumental in creating the group. There are, in addition to common problems (sacred language, special terminology), many interesting parallels between the sociology of language, of which study Humboldt is a cofounder, and the sociology of religion, but their delineation has no place in this volume.

2. (a) THE INTEGRATING POWER OF DOCTRINE

Since we are concerned with the integration of religious groups, the conditions which favour or hinder it, and the means which are available for it, we might properly ask to what extent the different types of religious expression contribute to the integration of the religious group. The decisive religious experience which impels the association of all who possess it will, as we have seen, be formulated in terms of sacred knowledge, will be expressed in rites and forms of worship, and will be applied in characteristic (ethical) viewpoints and practical activities.

[Similar sociological effects can be observed wherever and whenever sacred tradition is recorded.] We find first that the group is united through the recitation of the myths of the tribe. This message expresses and proclaims a new experience of the unknown or the holy. The sacred knowledge might be formulated in individual utterances (prophecy, *apophthegmata*) or in sermons and tracts as proclaimed revelations. It succeeds in uniting those who open their ears to hear and their hearts to receive the new truth. It leaves out those who do not respond. Doctrine, whether systematic or codified in the form of dogma, is often first formulated through polemics. This doctrine serves to initiate the first movements towards official organization within the unified group. The eventual definition and codification of a dogma does not end debate, for the desire persists to expound the implicit content of the characteristic experience and to defend it against doubt from within and attack from without. Eventually, divergences of opinion based on differences in temperament and character, as

¹² Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Grundzüge des allgemeinen Sprachtypus*, in *Gesammelte Werke* (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften), Vol. V, and *Verschiedenheiten des menschlichen Sprachbaus*, Vols. VI, VII. Cf. Joachim Wach, *Das Verstehen: Geschichte der hermeneutischen Theorie in 19. Jahrhundert*, Vol. I, chap. iv.

well as in the varying modes of interpretation of the basic experiences, lead to the formation of "schools" which gather about eminent preachers, interpreters, and theologians.¹³ [A further consolidation of the unity of the religious society is achieved by the formulation of confessions and creeds designed both to express and to encourage the solidarity of those who are led and inspired by similar or identical experiences.¹⁴] (Parenthetically, it may be remarked that the terms "dogma" and "creed", in the modern world, have lost much of their original significance as more or less adequate expressions of the faith. Standardization in time came to mean petrification and was accordingly made the subject of attack (chap. v, secs. 10 ff.). The term itself acquired in some circles a negative connotation. "He is dogmatic" effectually disposes of an opponent and his religious convictions.) Applications of dogma can be seen in the Christian creed, in the formula of the Buddhist Triratna, or in the Mohammedan Shahadah. The Jewish Shema and the Iranian confession of faith serve similar purposes.

Anticipating somewhat the discussion of the influence of the cultus on the integration of religious groups, we might here point out the tremendous influence of locally influential theological schools,¹⁵ such as Tapu-tapuatea on the Society Islands,¹⁶ Heliopolis in Egypt, Srirangam or Dakshineshvara in India, and Mount Hiei in Japan, on the development of doctrine and on the life of the religious community at large. The political implications of such sociological integration can hardly be overestimated. The history of such empires as those of the ancient Near East, Mexico, and Japan are cases in point.¹⁷ The variety of opinions and teachings set forth and discussed by the various groups which congregate about authoritative leaders and teachers within a religious community leads not only to a variegated and dialectical

¹³ Florian Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), discusses the types of intellectual leadership (following Scheler). Cf. there esp. chap. iii: "The Sacred School and Religious Scholars".

¹⁴ Cf. William Alexander Curtis, *A History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith in Christendom and Beyond* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), concentrating, though not entirely, on the different Christian confessions; Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1877; 1919); Arent Jan Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed, Its Genesis and Historical Development* (Cambridge University Press, 1932); Henrik Samuel Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, trans. into German by H. H. Schäfer (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938), on the Iranian creeds.

¹⁵ See George F. Moore, "The Theological School at Nisibis", in *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Hill Toy*, ed. David G. Lyon (Oxford University Press) as an example.

¹⁶ On the "religious seminary" in Opoa (Polynesia) and the central temple at Raiatia, cf. P. H. Buck, *Anthropology*, pp. 35 ff., 54 ff.

¹⁷ Cf. below, chap. vii, sec. 2-4.

development of thought, of theology, and of philosophy but proves also to be of vital sociological importance.¶ The history of religions supplies ample evidence for this statement. Pythagoras and Empedocles, Plato and Plotinus,¹⁸ the great Gnostic teachers,¹⁹ theologian-philosophers like Shankara,²⁰ Ramanuja,²¹ Ramakrishna²² in Hinduism, Nagarjuna²³ and Tsong-khapa, Bodhidharma and Hui-neng in Chinese, and Dengyo Daishi and Kobo Daishi, Honen, Shinran, and Nichiren in Japanese Buddhism exercised by their teaching and authority a most powerful influence upon their followers and, through them, upon their co-religionists in general.

3. (b) THE INTEGRATING POWER OF WORSHIP

We must now examine the sociological significance and implications of the cultic or practical expression of religious experience. Whereas intellectual activity might well lead to differentiation, even isolation, of groups or individuals within the larger community, worship, on the other hand, forms, integrates,²⁴ and develops the religious group.²⁵ Underhill sagely remarks that worship checks "religious egoism and breaks down sociological and denominational differences". Cultic acts tend to bind together and unite those animated by the same central experience.²⁶

¹⁸ Ludwig Bieler, *Theios aner: Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Wien: Oscar Höfels, 1935).

¹⁹ There are few studies in and biographies of the individual Gnostic teachers, such as Harnack's *Marcion*. The most important articles are listed in "Gnosis", in Gerhard Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932 ff.) (cited hereafter as *TWNT*).

²⁰ "Sankaracharya" (art.), in *ERE*, XI, 185 ff.; Rudolf Otto, *Westöstliche Mystik* (Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1926); John Clark Archer, "Shankara and the Hindu One" *RR*, I (1937), 238 ff.

²¹ "Ramanuja" (art.), in *ERE*, X, 572 ff.; and R. Otto, *Der Siddhanta des Ramanuja* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1927).

²² Cf. the article on "Sri Ramanuja and Spiritual Renaissance" in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, published by the Centenary Committee of the Ramakrishna Mission (Calcutta: Belur Math, 1936).

²³ Cf. Louis de la Vallée-Poussin's excellent articles, "Mahayana" "Bodhisattva", and "Madhyamaka" in *ERE*, VIII, 330 ff.; II, 739 ff.; VIII, 235 ff. For the texts see Moritz Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* (Leipzig: C. F. Amelang, 1920), Vol. II; for Nagarjuna, Max Walliser's translations; for Santideva, de la Vallée's translation. For Tsong-khapa and the East Asiatic teachers, cf. below, chap. v, nn. 304, 403.

²⁴ Evelyn Underhill, *Worship* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1937), chap. v: "The Principles of Corporate Worship", p. 184.

²⁵ Cf. James Bissett Pratt, *The Religious Consciousness* (Macmillan, 1920), chap. viii. His own solution (pp. 308-9), however, does not satisfy.

²⁶ W. E. Hocking, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience* (Oxford University Press, 1912), Part V: "Worship"; Hermann Siebeck, *Lehrbuch der Religionsphilosophie* (Freiburg i. B: Mohr, 1893).

This tendency can be most clearly seen in primitive religions. Professor Malinowski notes a "creative element in the rites of religious nature" and holds that "most sacred acts happen in a congregation; indeed the solemn character of the faithful united in prayer, sacrifice, supplication, or thanksgiving is the very prototype of a religious ceremony", and he summarizes by stating that "in primitive societies the public character of worship and the give and take between religious faith and social organization is at least as pronounced as in higher cults".²⁷ Simple ceremonies and rites serve to integrate the group, be it family, clan, tribe, or nation. "No amount of theological doctrine", says the author of a monograph on a modern religious sect,²⁸ "could probably have the effect that their comparatively simple ritual does, of producing in the individual participant a sense of the reality of his religious faith." Dr. Pratt has shown the strong influence of cultic tendencies even on a highly rationalistic group like the Arya Samaj, the well-known Hindu reform group. "The cult", according to a leading modern philosopher and sociologist,²⁹ "has a mysterious value which is attached to it that we cannot fully rationalize, and therefore we preserve it in the form which it always has had, and in its social setting." J

Prayer,³⁰ sacrifice,³¹ and ritual not only serve to articulate the experiences of those taking part but contribute in no small measure to the shaping and determining of the organization and spirit of the group. Underhill has distinguished three types of union in the common worship of the Christian church: corporate silence, acts of worship performed by the leader or his assistants in the name of the congregation, and acts of ritual or liturgy in which all take part.³² The number of theoretical ideas possessed by a group of primitive people may be negligible. Thus tribes like the Blackfoot or Crow Indians reputedly have a bare minimum of cosmology and a complete absence of pantheon. Sacred³³

²⁷ Malinowski, *Magic*, pp. 40, 52.

²⁸ Pauline Vislick Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932) (the American Molokans); cf. below, chap. v, sec. 12.

²⁹ G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*, p. 296.

³⁰ Cf. the comprehensive comparative study by Friedrich Heiler, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion*, trans. Samuel McComb (2nd ed.; London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1933).

³¹ Alfred Firmin Loisy, *Essai historique sur le sacrifice* (Paris: E. Nourry, 1920); George Buchanan Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: Its Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925); Wilson D. Wallis, *Religion in Primitive Society* (New York: F. S. Crofts Co., 1939), chaps. x, xi. Cf. "Opfer" and "Ritus" (arts.), in *PWRE*, XXXV, 579 ff.; 2nd ser., I, 924 ff.

³² Underhill, *Worship*, p. 93. Cf. above chap. ii, n. 48.

³³ Ruth Benedict in Franz Boas (ed.), *General Anthropology* (Harraap, 1938), p. 653.

knowledge is usually regarded as the sole concern and privilege of those primarily responsible for it—the magician, teacher, and priest. A minimum of rites is performed by the group as a whole,³⁴ but the entire continuity of the group depends on these popular rites. We will later on see how with agricultural tribes and, in general, with the rural population in practically all societies scarcity of theoretical religious knowledge and interest and tenacity in cultic matters go hand in hand.³⁵

As a more elaborate and complicated system of cultic practices develops, the expanding need for experts leads to a reservation in principle or in practice of certain cultic acts and to the formation of a body of functionaries who take over and in fact monopolize certain activities in the cult. A priesthood thus gradually emerges³⁶ through the assumption of functions originally vested in the paterfamilias,³⁷ the chieftains, officials, or the king, as in Israel, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Mexico, China, and Japan.³⁸ The comparative study of prayer and sacrifice proves that, in spite of the presence of personal expressions of religious experience even in primitive religions, highly individual acts of worship do not play a part until a later stage in the development of religions. The Hebrew as well as the Babylonian religions evidence this fact. It is worth noting that cultic conceptions of the important phases in the life of the individual, particularly in the earlier states of cultural development, emphasize almost entirely those occasions which bear directly on the relation of the individual to the group. Examples are birth to the family; puberty to the age class; marriage, war, and hunting as group activities; and death as severance from the group. There is hardly an activity in the life of the primitive person which is not marked by the performance of a ceremonial rite.³⁹ It cannot be too often emphasized that religion is a much more important factor in the secular life of primitive people than it is with civilized communities—indeed, it is the most important of all. It enters into all their family and social relations, into their most commonplace activities and their daily occupation—in short, there is no aspect of native life which has not its religious significance, and which is not more or less

³⁴ This fact is stressed by Paul Radin in *Primitive Religion* (Hamish Hamilton, 1938), chap. ii: "The Role of the Religious Formulator".

³⁵ Cf. below, chap. vi, secs. 7 and 8, nn. 412 ff., 527-29.

³⁶ Cf. below, chap. viii, sec. 10.

³⁷ Cf. below, chap. iv, sec. 2.

³⁸ Cf. below, chap. vii, secs. 1-3.

controlled by religious rites or prohibitions."³⁹ It is not exaggeration to conclude that the cultus is the primary integrating factor in primitive society and the chief agent for the expression of its unity. The same is true even at higher levels of cultural development. Private and public cultus, even more than the vaunted ideas and doctrines, symbolized the unity in the life of the city-states of the ancient oriental world, in Israel, Greece, Rome, India, China, Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere. We shall discuss more fully below the interrelation of socio-political and religious grouping and shall examine in some detail the sociological implications of cultus in the great universal world religions. [Here it will suffice to note that the emphasis placed on worship to-day in Eastern, Roman, and Anglo-Catholic Christianity,⁴⁰ as well as in Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism, Parsiism, Judaism, and certain branches of Mohammedanism, is due partly to a recognition of the integrating energy inherent in religious rites.] The most conscious expression of this conviction among all the great founders of religion is credited to Confucius, and found in the canonical *Analects*, a collection of his dialogues.⁴¹

This integrating force of worship is revealed in the creation of transient or permanent organizational forms. Associations for special cultic functions (burials, banquets, games), such as the "mystery societies" among the primitive peoples and in Greece, sodalities in Rome, guilds, orders, and societies in all the universal religions, and, finally, confederations of groups, tribes, and cities connected with a cultic centre, are examples of such formations. Festivals and pilgrimages are outstanding occasions, for here we find a close interrelation between different cultic activities such as purifications, lustrations, prayers, vows, offerings, sacrifices, and processions, all of which are of particular interest both to the historian of religion and to the sociologist of religion.⁴² It can easily be imagined to what extent organizations such as those mentioned are able to influence the religious moods and attitudes

³⁹ Jack Herbert Driberg, *The Loango: A Nilotic Tribe of Uganda* (London: T. F. Unwin, Ltd., 1923), p. 233. Cf. below, chap. iv, sec. 2.

⁴⁰ Louis Marie Olivier Duchesne, *Christian Worship, Its Origin and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy*, trans. M. L. McClure (5th ed.; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931); William Delbert Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship, Its Development and Forms* (Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1936); Alexander B. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1934); Oscar Hardman, *A History of Christian Worship* (Hodder, 1937).

⁴¹ Cf. below, chap. vii, sec. 12.

⁴² Cf. the stimulating analysis by Pryor McNeill Grant, "The Sacrament of Initiation", *RR*, II (1937), 129 ff. Cf. also the literature for chap. iv, sec. 7.

of the worshippers gathered together for a special purpose and so exert a strong influence on the religion as a whole.⁴³

It is very important, however, to recognize the ambiguity in the interpretation of religious forms as well as of all cultural expressions. This is particularly true of the practical or cultic side of religion. Doctrines are safeguarded by clear-cut definitions which crystallize and clarify the meanings and significances. Cultic acts, on the other hand, are susceptible of a much larger variety of interpretations and so may frequently serve several purposes whether deliberately or incidentally. A good example of such complex motivation is provided by a student of Pueblo civilization. "At Zufi house-building forms part of the preparations for the harvest rituals; it is the occasion for important property distributions, a social obligation for the wealthy, and a mechanism for social integration."⁴⁴ Such instances could be multiplied indefinitely from the history of every religion. If cultic acts can so easily acquire increased, new, and perhaps divergent meanings, different interpretations may produce dissensions. More will be said on this point later.

As we know, the arts were fostered and cultivated under the aegis of religious inspiration.⁴⁵ Even apparently non-religious artistic creations such as the ornamental arts would be hard put to it to prove that their humble beginnings were not at least partly rooted in religious inspiration. We do not deny, of course, an irreducible pleasure in beauty and play, yet *l'art pour l'art* is a relatively late achievement.⁴⁶ In primitive⁴⁷ and oriental religions the cultic origin and significance of epic,⁴⁸

⁴³ Cf. R. W. Williamson, *Religious and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* (Cambridge University Press, 1937), esp. chaps. viii ff. Malinowski speaks of the "identification of the whole tribe as a social unit with its relation; that is, the absence of any religious sectarianism, discussion or heterodoxy in primitive creed" (*Magic*, p. 53). Cf., however, below, chap. v, sec. 10.

⁴⁴ Cf. R. Bunzel, in Boas (ed.), *General Anthropology*, chap. viii, pp. 331 ff.; similarly, R. Benedict, in *ibid.*, p. 657 (sun-dance of Plains Indians); on the "potlatch" of the northwest American Indians see the same author in *Patterns of Culture* (Routledge, 1946), chap. vi.

⁴⁵ R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (Routledge, 1924), chap. xii, discusses with good examples the interrelation of religion and art. Excellent documentation is given by Rafael Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians, with Special Reference to Magic and Religion* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.); chaps. i ff., vii ff.

⁴⁶ Interesting material for the study of the interrelation of religious and aesthetic motives in Western culture can be found in Horace M. Kallen, *Art and Freedom: A Historical and Biographical Interpretation of the Relations between the Ideas of Beauty, Use and Freedom* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1942), Vol. I.

⁴⁷ P. Radin, *Social Anthropology* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932), Part V.

⁴⁸ Cf. Fitzroy Richard Somerset, Baron Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* (London: Methuen & Co., 1936).

dramatic,⁴⁹ and lyric literature, of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and of music and dancing⁵⁰ are clearly discernible. Artistic expression for its own sake plays here a comparatively small role. In the Western world the emancipation of art from its original setting began only with the Renaissance. So long as artistic creativity served its original purpose, its integrating influence on religious groups was immeasurable, as shown by the role of the Greek drama in the interpretation of the Dionysian mysteries⁵¹ and of the Shiite drama as an illustration of the passion of the Alids,⁵² by the recital of the great Greek and Indian epics, and of Chinese, Tamil, and Persian lyrics. We might also point to the effect of artistic construction and decoration of the places of worship in practically all higher religions and to the significance of the classic medieval and Protestant music for the integration of the Christian service. An enormous variety of organizations especially designed to foster and develop such activities ancillary to the performance of cultic rites has thus arisen and has had great influence on religious life and culture.)) Minor institutions of cultic character which have great social significance should also be noted, such as contests and games, ordeals, and the institution of asylum.))

4. RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE "WORLD"

We have thus far discussed the sociological function of doctrine and cultus as the theoretical and practical expression of religious experience. Let us now examine the attitude of religious groups towards the world in general and towards society in particular.

Religion as an inner state or as a subjective experience can have no effect upon reality until it has objectified itself into a concrete mood, atmosphere, attitude, or form.)) Purely personal religion cannot succeed in transcending subjectivity.)) A thought or an emotion must be expressed if it is to be understood or if it is to produce a social effect.)) No communion can be effected between

⁴⁹ Loomis Havemeyer, *The Drama of Savage Peoples* (Oxford University Press, 1916); Karl Young, *The Drama of the Mediaeval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933); Sir Edmund Kerchever Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1903), esp. Vol. I, Book I, and chaps. v, vi.

⁵⁰ Wilfrid Dyson Hamby, *Tribal Dancing and Social Development* (London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1927).

⁵¹ Havemeyer, *op. cit.*, chap. iv. The origin of the Japanese drama (*nō*) and certainly its later development seem to have been strongly influenced by religious impulses (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 114-15). Cf. Arthur Waley, *The Nō Plays of Japan* (Allen & Unwin, 1922).

⁵² Cf. Lewis Pelly, *The Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain* (London, 1879); "Ta'ziya" (art.), in *EL*, IV, 711 ff.

two individuals experiencing the same thing until this experience is translated into a gesture, a word, or an action by means of which an allegedly similar feeling, thought, or deed can be substantiated and verified. Immediate comprehension of the experience of another's soul is something rare and extraordinary.⁵³ Such immediate mutual understanding may conceivably occur between two or, at best, a very few people intimately acquainted, but it hardly offers a basis for the establishment of a broad exchange and communion of religious experience. Religious experience itself stimulates the development of characteristic attitudes. These in turn are concretized in thought and action, as we have seen previously. (It is difficult, though not impossible, to define the Christian, Mohammedan, Buddhist, and Hindu "attitude", which originated through a genuine experience of the holy by their founders and which was mediated through the individuality of these founders. It is in this "attitude" that we find the "spirit" of the religion, creating, determining, and regulating the application of principles, ideas, norms, and rules to actual behaviour.) Though his speculative method has little appeal to our generation, Hegel's masterly characterization of some of the great historic religions in his *Philosophy of History* and in his *Philosophy of Religion* may still be read with profit. Who would not agree with his characterization of the Chinese religion as one of measure, of the Syrian as religion of pain, of the Jewish as religion of sublimity, of the Greek as religion of beauty, and of the Roman as religion of utility?⁵⁴ An examination, for instance, of the attitude of the Hebrew people, which was the result of the religious experiences which they underwent during and shortly after the Exile, provides a key for the understanding of the Jewish attitude towards life, society, and the universe as expressed formally and informally, consciously or unconsciously, in thought and in action. A similar inquiry into the central experience of Japanese Shintoism would prepare us for a comprehension of its attitude towards life, nature, the state, and the world. The burden of these illustrations is to show that

⁵³ For Scheler's theory cf. A. Schultz, "Scheler's Theory of Intersubjectivity and the General Thesis of the Alter Ego", *Philosophical and Phenomenological Research*, II (1942), 323 ff.; for James Mark Baldwin's theory cf. his *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development: A Study in Social Psychology* (New York and London: Macmillan Co., 1897), chap. i (ego and alter); for G. H. Mead cf. above, n. 11.

⁵⁴ G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, trans. E. B. Speirs (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1895), I, 261 ff.; II, 77 ff., 82 ff., 170 ff. Cf. also Georg Lasson, *Einführung in Hegels Religionsphilosophie* (Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1930), esp. pp. 106 ff., and Aline Lion, *The Idealistic Concept of Religion (Vico, Hegel, Gentile)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), esp. chaps. ix-xiv.

if we can only pierce deeply enough through the coating of customs and ideas which are really only outward manifestations and lay bare the basic attitude conceived and nurtured by a decisive religious experience, then the various factors of religious expression will become immediately intelligible, and seemingly divergent and incongruent thoughts and acts will be found to contain one central motivation.]

Religions may vary in their conception, appreciation, and interpretation of the significance of fellowship, communion, and society. In the more highly developed and introspective religions, norms are set up which define for each religion the idea of a world or society permeated by the spirit of that religion. The historian and the sociologist will have to study the development of these religions in the light of their ideals.

In a brilliant study Max Weber has attempted to characterize typologically different religious attitudes as they are found in some of the world religions.⁵⁵ Inasmuch as society is a part of the finite world—as distinct from the world of the absolute—it partakes of the character attributed to it in the central conceptions of the various faiths. The basically monistic conception might be qualified by varying degrees of dualism. In primitive religion, for example, the experience of the group has led to a dual division of the visible world into taboo and noa, the sacred and the profane, which is essentially a religious distinction but with ethical implications. This division qualifies the unreserved stamp of approval on the world as it is. Basically, the world is considered to be good and pleasant, but for certain reasons which are explained in myth and theology this goodness has become localized, limited, and perverted. The problem remains the same even in the more highly developed cults.

The world of the Homeric and Vedic epics is fundamentally a "good" world, although chronic forces and tendencies seek constantly to overthrow the goodness in it. The Book of Genesis labels the result of creation as being "very good", but in the course of development of the Hebrew religion qualifying distinctions emerged which are codified in the Book of Leviticus.

In contrast to the optimistic, cheerful evaluation of the world which prevails in some religions, other religions of a more differentiated and sophisticated character assume a decidedly

⁵⁵ Max Weber, *G.A.*, I, 536 ff. Cf. for the political aspect (with respect to the Christian Middle Ages) the analogous typology in Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1940), Introduction, pp. xi ff.

negative attitude towards the world. Gnosticism, Mandaeism, Manichaeism, and Buddhism are striking examples. The world is viewed in the darkest colours; pain and evil reign supreme and present no signs of voluntary abdication. The only rational attitude to take towards such a world is one of unqualified pessimism. Buddhist theology and philosophy are based on a special interpretation of the typically Indian conception of *samsara*. It is also interesting to compare the use of the Greek term *kosmos*⁵⁶ in classical poetry with its use in Neo-Platonism and to note the changes in its significance from Plotinus, where it retains its old connotation, to the later Neo-Platonists.

A third conception of the universe retains this negative metaphysical and ethical interpretation of the world as reflected in human experience, but is disposed to add various qualifications. Emphasis is laid on the possibility of sanctification in full or in part. Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan theologies on the whole represent this conception. The Iranian religion is of particular interest. Here the omnipotence of Ahura-Mazda, the Lord Wisdom, is qualified by the relatively independent existence of evil, a dualism which brings a unique dynamic force into the theology of this faith.⁵⁷ This dynamic force is graphically expressed in the philosophy of history (cosmology, eschatology) and ethics of the Iranians. According to this conception, the universe is viewed as a gigantic battlefield. The opposing armies are well matched; the forces of evil are stubborn, tricky, and powerful and threaten more than once to capture the enemy stronghold, but the eventual triumph of the Good is assured. It is commonly agreed that Iranian theodicy has influenced Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan interpretations of history and of the world. This influence can even be detected in modern philosophies of history—in Herder, Kant, Schelling, Baader, Hegel—and in various Russian Christian writers.⁵⁸ The great historian von Ranke once summarized his philosophy of history

⁵⁶ "Kosmos" (art.), *TWNT*, III, 867 ff.

⁵⁷ The most recent treatment is in Nyberg's *Religionen des alten Iran*. The later development of this theology of history is to be found mainly in the *Bahman-Yasht* (*SBE*, V, 190 ff.). Cf. also Hugo Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhöck & Ruprecht, 1905), and *Der Messias* (Göttingen: Vandenhöck & Ruprecht, 1929); Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, chap. ii.

⁵⁸ Cf. Ernst Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922). For a summary of the philosophy of history of modern Russian Orthodox Christianity see Walter Marshall Horton, *Contemporary Continental Theology* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1938), chap. i (esp. "2. N. Berdyaev"), and Nikolai Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism* (Bles, 1937).

in terms reflecting the old Iranian outlook: "Ormuzd and Ahriman continuously struggle. Ahriman always works to convulse the universe, but he does not succeed."⁵⁹

The attitude towards the "world" which is determined and motivated by a characteristic religious experience influences man's appreciation of the basic aspects of human existence and of the forms of human activity.⁶⁰ Once again Weber has made an enlightening typological outline from this point of view. It could be enlarged. Thus a comparison of classical Greek, Buddhist, and Hindu religious evaluations of nature reveals characteristically different reactions.⁶¹ Such differences in the interpretation of nature are well illustrated by an examination of the attitude towards nature held by Eastern and Roman Catholicism and by several types of Protestantism. Nature is variously accepted naïvely, is vigorously rejected, or is considered capable of sanctification. Three general religious attitudes towards nature can thus be distinguished, each attitude in itself being capable of further differentiation. Sexual life, with all its problems, is approached from the standpoint of typologically different religious experiences. War, a basic phenomenon in human experience, is enthusiastically accepted in many religions, generally of lower cultural calibre, or is violently rejected by some of the great religious leaders of mankind.⁶² Under certain conditions war may receive divine sanction in the theologies of Judaism, Christianity, or Mohammedanism. The attitude towards beauty and art also varies considerably according to the basic tenets of the various religions,⁶³ and even within Christianity itself a wide range of opinion evidences itself. Eastern, Roman, and

⁵⁹ Cf. Leopold von Ranke, *Gesammelte Werke*, LV, 627; cf. J. Wach, "Die Geschichtsphilosophie des 19. Jahrhunderts und die Theologie der Geschichte", *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLII (1929), 1 ff.; James T. Shotwell, *The History of History* (Oxford University Press, 1939), Vol. I, esp. chaps. xxv ff.

⁶⁰ The best presentation of the basic attitude of Christianity towards the "world" appears in Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon (Allen & Unwin, 1931), and in Cadoux, *The Early Church*.

⁶¹ Wilhelm Ganzenmüller, *Das Naturgefühl im Mittelalter* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1914); Sir Archibald Geikie, *The Love of Nature among the Romans* (London: J. Murray, 1912); Henry Rushton Fairclough, *Love of Nature among the Greeks and Romans* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930). Cf. below, n. 63.

⁶² Cadoux, *The Early Church*, pp. 51 ff., 116 ff., 183 ff., 564 ff.; Harnack, *Militia Christi: Die Christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905); W. R. Inge, *Christian Ethics and Modern Problems* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930); Fritz Schwenn, "Der Krieg in der griechischen Religion", *ARW*, XX (1920), 299 ff.; XXI (1922), 58 ff.

⁶³ Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, *The Transformation of Nature in Art* (Oxford University Press, 1934); Joachim Konrad, *Religion und Kunst* (Tübingen: J. C. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1929).

Anglican Catholicism generally favour, the Lutheran church accepts with reservation, and Calvinism, at least in its initial stages, disapproves of the arts. All vary in their appreciation of music, painting, drama, and dancing. Recently, several brilliant studies have been devoted to the influence of religious conceptions on still another field—economics.⁶⁴ Max Weber himself has analysed the attitudes of Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Parsiism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism towards labour, commerce, property, money, and usury.⁶⁵ His work was ably supplemented and criticized by Sombart, Troeltsch, Kraus, Tawney, Niebuhr, Hyma, and others for the Christian denominations.⁶⁶ It would be easy to multiply illustrations for the religious motivation of basic human attitudes. Even in their ideas on very abstract concepts different cultures vary according to their religious basis. So a comparison of the evaluation of time in various cultures and religions is revealing.⁶⁷

[The bearing of these studies on sociology is obvious. The attitude of the individual towards society in all its forms and the influence of a religion on social relations and institutions will depend largely on the spirit which permeates the doctrines, cult, and organization of a religious group. Interhuman relations in a given society are determined by it. Institutions such as marriage, family, kinship, and state are perceived in the light of the central religious experience, and a corresponding ideal of society is formulated. This, however, is only one aspect of the interaction of religion and society, because, as we shall see, the expressions of religious experience are themselves subject to far-reaching influences and changes by social forces acting from without.]

⁶⁴ For the study of primitive societies cf., besides the handbooks of general anthropology and monographs on different economic systems (cf. the bibliography listed below in chap. vi), Williamson, *Religions and Social Organization*, chap. xiii: "Religion and Economics", discussing "the religious aspect of economics" as well as "the economic aspect of religion".

⁶⁵ Max Weber, "Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen", in *G.A.*

⁶⁶ On Max Weber's contributions and the controversies following see above, chap. i, n. 12, and Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1930). Cf. also Werner Sombart's historical and systematical work, *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1928), trans. F. L. Nussbaum, *A History of Economic Institutions of Modern Europe* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1933); Cadoux, *The Early Church*, pp. 61 ff., 727 ff. See also the bibliography above, chap. i, n. 30, and Josiah Stamp, *Christianity and Economics* (Macmillan, 1938), and *Motive and Method in a Christian Order* (Epworth Press, 1936); Alexander Dunlop Lindsay, *Christianity and Economics* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1934), etc., for the normative point of view.

⁶⁷ Cf. W. Bogoras, "Ideas of Space and Time in the Conception of Primitive Religion", *AA*, XXVII (1925), 205 ff.; Edwyn Robert Bevan, *Symbolism and Belief* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1938), chaps. iv and v; A. J. Hollowell, "Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in Preliterate Society", *AA*, XXXIX (1937), 647 ff.

5. UNIVERSAL ORDER AND SOCIETY; ETHICS; IDEAL AND REALITY

Having thus narrowed down the comparative study of the religious conceptions of the world to an examination of attitudes towards social phenomena, we must now consider the development of a special set of ideas which link the various phenomena. I refer to the idea of a *cosmic* order. The well-organized comprehensive system of mythology which we find among many "primitive peoples" usually includes already a normative element which transcends the purely speculative realm. The great idea of a universal, cosmic, moral, and ritual order, to which we shall henceforth refer frequently, imposes a binding obligation on those who acknowledge it.⁶⁸ Rules of conduct and morals,⁶⁹ though they may appear incoherent to the systematic modern mind, are the expressions of an urge to "realize" the divine order, to adapt reality to it, and thereby to secure the functioning of an order upon which depends the existence and well-being of mankind or of a particular group of men.⁷⁰

["The ethical code of any society", states a prominent student of South Sea culture and religion, "forms a part of its normative system, by which we mean the body of rules, legal, practical, aesthetic and so on, whereby the conduct of individuals is regulated. This whole body of rules is integrated into a unitary system, and no aspect of it, no isolated body of norms . . . can be considered apart from the system as a whole."⁷¹

Ancient society is replete with custom and law; the latter (*lex*) comes to be formulated according to custom (*mos*) and right (*jus*). "Themis represented the order of the world as the gods desired it to be and thus developed into a binding social force.

⁶⁸ An excellent exposition is in William A. Robson, *Civilization and the Growth of Law* (Macmillan, 1935).

⁶⁹ Cf. L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1915), approaching, according to the Preface, the theory of ethical evolution through a comparative study of rules of conduct and ideals of life.

⁷⁰ Cf. the most stimulating analysis in Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), Part I, sketching a comparative study of law; important also from the sociological point of view. Cf. Albert Kocourcek and John Wigmore, *Sources of Ancient and Primitive Law* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1915); Arthur Sigismund Diamond, *Primitive Law* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1935), attempts, not too successfully, to show that the religious character of "primitive" law has been unduly stressed (criticism of H. Maine, etc.). Cf. also N. S. Timasheff, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Law* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939), chap. iv, on the "Ethical Group-Conviction", and chap. xii, on "Moslem Law". Cf. also Edward Jabra Jurji, "Islamic Law in Operation," *AJSL*, LVII (1940), 32. Cf. also G. Gurvitch, *The Sociology of Law*, to be published in the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction (London: Kegan Paul).

⁷¹ Williamson, *Religious and Social Organization*, pp. 233 ff.

She personified the collective conscience, the social sanction, the social imperative which was at first diffuse, vague, inchoate, which later crystallized into fixed conventions and customs, and finally emerged in the polis as law and justice."⁷² A clear-cut distinction between civil and criminal law or between law and custom does not emerge until a later stage.⁷³ As civilizations advance, ideals of life and conduct are promulgated⁷⁴ which, with few exceptions, manage to preserve the characteristics of the basic religious (mythological or theological) conceptions.⁷⁵ The Indian laws of Manu, legal systems in the Pentateuch and the Koran, the Zoroastrian law, and the Confucian code illustrate this tendency.⁷⁶ Only with difficulty can we distinguish between religious and legal codes embodied in these documents.⁷⁷ "Law, indeed, was one aspect of religion."⁷⁸

Among primitive peoples and in the oriental countries we find, dating from time immemorial, the development of a proverbial wisdom literature in which norms of conduct and reflections

⁷² Robson, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Timasheff, *op. cit.*, chap. vii: "Differentiation of Ethics".

⁷³ A bibliography of the discussion—partly arisen from the thesis of Malinowski—and a summary of the African concepts of law in W. D. Hamblay, *Source-Book for African Anthropology* (FMNH, Vol. XXVI (1937)), pp. 506 ff., 520. Cf. William Seagle, "Primitive Law and Prof. Malinowski", *AA*, XXXIX (1937), 275 ff., and Julius Lips, "Government", in *General Anthropology*, ed. Boas, chap. x. Cf. also Herbert Jan Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia: A Study in Primitive Legal Institutions* (Christophers, 1934), with an Introduction by Malinowski.

⁷⁴ For an excellent treatment of comparative morality see R. H. Lowie, "Intellectual Achievements", in *Scientific Aspects of the Race Problem*, ed. by H. S. Jennings (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press (Longmans, Green & Co.), 1941), pp. 226 ff.

⁷⁵ Diamond, *op. cit.* (chap. vii, "The Religious Theory", and chap. xvi), is of a different opinion.

⁷⁶ Cf. the stimulating, though sometimes too constructive, speculations in Jane E. Harrison's famous *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: University Press, 1912), esp. chap. xi on "Dike" and "Themis". The parallel of the Indian *rita*, the Persian *asha*, and the Chinese *tao* to the Greek conception of *dike* is clearly noted here (pp. 526-27) and discussed by Robson, *op. cit.*, Part I. Cf. also Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1935), esp. Appendix: "Law in the Subjective Realm". Cf. for the Chinese concept esp. Marcel Granet, *Chinese Civilisation* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930), pp. 247 ff.

⁷⁷ An excellent survey and extracts of the main sources (proverbs, laws, precepts, etc.) is offered by J. O. Herzler, *The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations* (the Egyptians, pp. 16 ff.; the Babylonians and Assyrians, pp. 75 ff.; the Persians, pp. 145 ff.; India, pp. 169 ff.; China, pp. 201 ff.; the Hebrews, pp. 256 ff.). Cf. also the *Cambridge History of India*, esp. Vol. I: *Ancient India*, ed. E. J. Rapson (Cambridge University Press, 1922 ff.), chaps. ix-xi and pp. 666 ff.; Julius Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* ("Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie" (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1896)) Vol. II, secs. 8, I; Maneckji N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1922), chap. xiii; Elbert Duncan Thomas, *Chinese Political Thought* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1927); etc.

⁷⁸ Robson, *op. cit.*, p. 56, and cf. chap. vii: "The Living Word and the Letter of the Law". On the Roman *jus sacrum* cf. *ibid.*, chap. v. Similarly, Timasheff, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 275 ff.

are blended. In a recent analysis of the Hebrew Wisdom Literature⁷⁹ we find it divided into two main divisions. The first deals with "matters of practical philosophy and morals". "They expound", according to the author, "popular wisdom of experience" and consist of maxims relating to conduct. The other division deals with problems of moral and religious life by way of speculative philosophy. This group is illustrated by the books of Job and Proverbs. The popular wisdom of the ages has appeared in manifold guises in the various civilizations—riddles, proverbs, aphorisms, anecdotes, etc.⁸⁰ As this knowledge is distilled predominantly from the practical experiences of life, it is an effective supplement to purely theoretical speculation, and both co-operate in the development of theological and philosophical thought and in the guidance of society.⁸¹

With the growth of doctrine, ethics becomes increasingly detached from law and custom. But, even where an independent ethical system emerges, the derivation, motivation, and formation of its ethical ideas flow from the decisive religious experience. Pratt distinguishes as the outstanding features of all historical religions an attitude towards the "Controller of Destiny" and a "system of teachings about the conduct of life" and considers the two "correlative but practically indistinguishable".⁸² Only at the very high levels and under special circumstances do philosophic systems of ethics develop.⁸³ Greek philosophy is, perhaps, the most noteworthy illustration. Unfortunately, the interest of students in the history of ethics⁸⁴ has hitherto been centred almost exclusively on genetic studies of the Old Testament ideal and on Greek, Christian,⁸⁵ and modern Western ethics, with emphasis on their theoretical aspects. With the growing

⁷⁹ Harry Ranston, *The Old Testament Wisdom Books and Their Teaching* (London: Epworth Press, 1930), pp. 11-12.

⁸⁰ Cf., e.g., Werner von Soden, "Religion und Sittlichkeit nach den Anschauungen der Babylonier", *ZDMG*, LXXXVIII (1935), 143 ff.

⁸¹ Cf. H. E. Barnes and H. Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (London: Harrap, 1938 ff.), Vol. I, chaps. i-iv.

⁸² Pratt, *Religious Consciousness*, p. 8. Cf. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, Vol. II, esp. chaps. iv-vi; Robson, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff., on the *brocard*.

⁸³ See the very thorough studies of Ottmar Dittrich, *Geschichte der Ethik* (Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1923 ff.); cf. also Timasheff, *op. cit.*, chaps. iv, vii.

⁸⁴ An exception is E. Hershey Sneath, *The Evolution of Ethics as Revealed in the Great Religions* (Oxford University Press, 1927). Again, Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, esp. chaps. ii, vii, and viii, might be mentioned.

⁸⁵ For an excellent exposition of the ethical implications of the basic Christian experience (of Jesus and primitive Christianity) cf. Cadoux, *The Early Church*, pp. 25 ff., 70 ff., 90 ff., 159 ff., 230 ff., etc., which deepens and supplements Troeltsch's analysis (in *Social Teachings*). His studies remain, however, the most comprehensive treatment of the whole development of Christian ethics in their application to society. Cf. also below, chap. vii, sec. 9-12.

interest in primitive civilizations, new material has been made available, but we still need exhaustive studies in the development and types of ethical concepts. We still have much to learn about the extent to which religious experience is reflected in ethical ideas, the social implication of ethical ideas, their bearing upon characteristic conceptions of society and its organization, and the influence on reality of religiously motivated imperatives.

The sociologist, no less than the historian, is interested in the intricate relations between the ideal and the real. The nature and development of religious groups will have to be interpreted with this viewpoint in mind. Two fallacious doctrines have distorted our understanding of the true relationship between these factors as they have worked themselves out in history. The first is an excessive spiritualization of history which neglects the effects of harsh reality on ideas and programmes, overstressing the latter and taking fine plans for actual achievements. The other is superficial materialism which equally reduces theory to a mere consequence and result of "material" conditions and divests it of any inherent value and effectiveness (e.g., the concept of ideology in Marxist terminology). It is imperative that the student of the sociology of religion free himself from the falsifying effect of both outlooks.

PART II

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND SOCIETY. I: RELIGION AND NATURAL GROUPS

All historical cultures were produced by societies which themselves in turn were integrated and organized by their cultural activities, so that neither civilization nor society can be conceived of as self-sufficient entities. The historian's task of studying and interpreting the development of human civilization can be facilitated by a systematic inquiry into the character of a civilization and the structure of its society at any given period in a distinct area. By this method one can acquaint oneself with the individual features characterizing a given historical group and can, at the same time, become familiar with the structural elements common to all societies. A historical society like the Inca empire, the Egyptian kingdom, the Hebrew monarchy of the Old Testament, the medieval Western society, the Renaissance society, or the Western society of the eighteenth century appears as a conglomeration of groups and institutions of infinite variety, but is also an integrated whole. The more closely we scrutinize so comprehensive a social configuration, the more we realize its complex and composite character, even in the case of apparently simple societies. Every society consists of an indefinite number of groups, be they transitory or permanent, fluid or organized, homogeneous or heterogeneous, large or small. They vary in origin, structure, and meaning. Some groups are united by "natural" bonds of kinship, others are free or organized associations of individuals with common experiences, with or without special emphasis on common purposes and ideals.

Even the most confirmed sceptic would admit the existence of social units or groups whose origin is due to and whose behaviour is founded upon *religious* motivation. Often the cohesion of a group is increased and strengthened, perhaps even inspired, by impulses derived from and dictated by religious experiences.

On the other hand, the development of religious concepts, rites, and institutions is dependent upon the necessities, desires, and ideals of social groups as such. The author of an interesting book recently published, on a subject akin to ours, asserts that "religion reflects rather than dictates social relationships".¹ "Reflection", however, does not exclude the possibility of "dictation". Although religious ceremonies as well as mythical concepts often show features which have been determined by the character of an ethnic or political unit (family, nation, state), *new*, creative religious experiences of charismatic personalities and their followers have, all through the history of civilization, again and again "dictated" profound changes in existing types and have even founded new types of social groupings.

Physical and cultural anthropology as well as sociology have revealed the historical development, the nature, and the varieties of the groups which make up society.² One significant division upon which all agree is that between "natural" and "founded" religious groups.³ "Every human being", said a well-known student of Semitic religion, "without choice on his part but simply by virtue of his birth and upbringing becomes a member of what we call a natural society", and he remains a member of that society.⁴ Though he may renounce natural ties, such as the father-son or brother-sister relationships, he remains virtually bound by them. In a developed civilization, however, whether it be at a primitive or more advanced level, the individual may voluntarily create or join a fellowship which claims a smaller or larger share of his loyalty. The two loyalties—to the natural group and to the founded group—may be compatible with each other or mutually exclusive, as is frequently the case where religious motives determine the allegiance to the new group.

1. IDENTITY OF NATURAL AND RELIGIOUS GROUPING

Each society is made up of a variety of smaller and more comprehensive units. Some of these units are "natural", that is, they are composed of members that are related to one another by

¹ H. J. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia: A Study in Primitive Legal Institutions* (London: Christophers, 1934), p. 80.

² An excellent exposition is in Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man: An Introduction* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936) (cited hereafter as "Linton, *Study of Man*"), esp. chaps. vii-xv.

³ Cf. the relevant discussion of "tribal law" by Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), Part I.

⁴ W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 29.

blood or by marriage. The physiological or biological factor determines the relationship of the members of a family, clan, or tribe. Strong as this tie is, to the sociologist it appears as a basic "minimum" to which various activities may add additional strength and cohesion. Even in very primitive stages of civilization joint activities and interests—provision of food, construction of shelter, production of tools, implements, and weapons, and enterprises like hunting and fighting—integrate the members of a natural group more closely. It does not matter here if these people are actually "related" or if they regard themselves thus and are thus regarded by others. [Among the additional ties which will increase the cohesion of a natural group there is one of particular interest to us here: religion. The religious attitude of a natural group is determined by two factors: (1) a more or less clearly pronounced, characteristic personal (collective or individual) experience of the unknown or the holy and (2) the role of tradition. The first is a basic datum, which can hardly be "explained" and certainly not reduced to influences or reflections of environment, climate, or other external factors. The answer to the question why there is variety and heterogeneity in religious experience has not been found yet and most probably never will be.

The second factor is less constant than the first. Though relatively tenacious, religious tradition, even at the level of primitive culture, undergoes change and development. Both factors determine the religious attitude of a natural group, psychologically and with respect to the forms which the characteristic religious experience of its members creates. "Relatives" will tell the same myths, will perform the same simple or complicated rites, and will follow the advice and guidance of the same interpreter of the divine and guardian of tradition. In other words, worship with all it implies is not only an additional bond but very probably the most important non-biological or physiological tie between people. [We will not discuss here the relationship between the material and spiritual interests and activities of men; suffice it to state that religion, religious concepts, and religious rites lend great and, perhaps, decisive strength to the cohesion of a natural group.] The kindred group has been studied by others as a social and economic unit; we will dwell on its religious aspect.

It is not difficult to find examples for the type of group which we characterized as "identical" because it shares the same natural and cultic ties. In ancient Rome the lares of a family or

gens invited its members to common worship. We will speak of an exclusive identical group when the object of its cult and the peculiarities of its form of worship are characteristic exclusively of Group (Family, Clan) A and are not shared by other kindred or related units (another family of the same clan, other clans of the same tribe, etc.). Religious myths, dances, sacred bundles, processions, and associations may be shared by members of two tribes. That means that Tribe A and Tribe B are cultic units, but not exclusively so. On the other hand, it is possible that one tribe is divided into various groups, with different religious rites. Wherever the division follows tribal lines, there is an identity of social and religious groupings; where it does not, a different principle prevails, and religious allegiance follows spontaneous leadership. We will call this second type of unit a *specifically religious* group.

A specifically religious group would be illustrated by a special cultic group within a larger social or political unit (tribe or nation) or by a religion professed by ethnically or politically disparate adherents. The world religions are good examples of religions made up of different tribes and nations. We shall deal in detail below (chap. v) with this type of group integrated exclusively by religious impulses. At present we shall concern ourselves exclusively with those groups which are simultaneously natural *and* religious. For our purpose we shall subdivide this type of social unit into three categories: groups based on kinship; local groups which may or may not be kindred but are best dealt with in this context; and associations founded on the basis of natural affinity (equality of age, sex, etc.). We shall later examine associations with special purposes when we discuss the stratification of society resulting from the differentiation of society by labour, property, and rank (chap. vi).

It is a mistake to assume that the above classification into natural and specifically religious groups represents a chronological development, although, broadly speaking, religions of universal character appear comparatively late in history. Specifically religious groups are found even in primitive society. However, it is not the "secular" group but rather that in which religious and social ties are identical which is most frequently encountered at less advanced levels of civilization. For example, the family among the Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, Celts, Egyptians, Persians, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and pre-Columbian high civilizations is both a cultic and a social unit. Greek, Asiatic, ancient Ameri-

can, and Chinese cities were also socio-cultic units. Nations in which religious and political loyalties were originally congruent were the ancient Hebrew, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Persian, Greek, Roman, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, and Peruvian. All these were developed by a process of integrating smaller tribal or local units into a "state" (*Reich*). [This development, however, in nearly every case involved a transformation of the original sociological set-up—a transformation to which a religious development corresponded. The interrelation of these two factors will be discussed more fully later on (chap. vii).

2. FAMILY CULTS

Modern anthropology has found the family to be the smallest sociological unit. "We are justified", according to Lowie, "in concluding that regardless of other social arrangements the individual family is an omnipresent social unit."⁵ The rationalistic hypothesis of the isolated individual which formerly played a considerable part in social and political philosophy has thus been abandoned. In our previous examination of individualism as against collectivism in the historical development of religion,⁶ we concluded that primitive society was organized largely along collective lines. Whereas the anthropologist is privileged to explore the relationship between the various existing principles of societal organization,⁷ to classify group hierarchies, and to study their genetic and historic interrelations, we must needs content ourselves with an examination of the main sociological units and their connection with religion. We must forgo the analysis of more involved problems, such as whether a clan develops from a split in a larger unit, or whether the latter is an association of clans, or which came first, the bilateral or the unilateral organization.

Even the supposedly lowest level of civilization can boast of more than one type of family.⁸ They vary not only in accordance with their economic bases but also with regard to the position of the child, the method of reckoning descent (patrilinear, matrilinear, avunculate), conjugal or consanguine in Linton's ter-

⁵ R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (Routledge, 1920), p. 66.

⁶ Above, chap. ii, sec. 4.

⁷ As an example: A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes* (Melbourne and London: Macmillan & Co., 1931), esp. Part III.

⁸ Lowie, *op. cit.*, Part IV; Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, Part I, chaps. i-iii; Elsie W. Clews Parsons, *The Family: An Ethnographical and Historical Outline* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906); Margaret Mead, "Primitive Family" (art.), in *ESS*, VI, 65 ff.

minology,⁹ and to size. The enlarged family (*Grossfamilie*) is known in China, Japan, India, Israel, and among Indo-Germanic peoples, particularly the Slavs (*zadruga*).¹⁰ The simplest type of family, however, remains the parents and children.¹¹ This unit persists all through the history of man and forms even now the basis of modern society.¹² It is therefore meet that we examine in some detail the relation between family and religion.

There are certain features common to all families within a given cultural and religious group and others unique with individual families. In order to analyse such features, we must examine the religious significance given to the basic relations existing between members of the family and also the religious position of the members of the family in the cult (father, mother,¹³ brother, sister,¹⁴ adopted child, etc.).¹⁵

Ever since the development of social studies in the second half of the nineteenth century, an enormous amount of material on family religion has been collected by anthropologists,¹⁶ historians, sociologists, and philologists. The dominant role of the family in the history of the Hebrews, as evidenced by the tradition of the patriarchs, attracted the attention of scholars, who proceeded to investigate the other Semitic peoples in like manner.¹⁷ The family cult of the Greeks implied that family and demos affiliation deter-

⁹ Linton, *Study of Man*, pp. 159 ff. For examples of the prevailing of bilateral reckoning among primitives see Lowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff., 67; of preference according to residence, etc., pp. 70 ff.; cf. also pp. 80 ff. (Cf. below, sec. 4.)

¹⁰ Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 262 ff. (the joint family). For the economic side cf. Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 99 ff. (the development of the "Familia" and the "Manor"); also William Christie MacLeod, "The Family Hunting Territory and the Lenape Political Organization", *AA*, XXIV (1922), 448 ff. For the Tanala joint family cf. Linton, *Study of Man*, pp. 190 ff.

¹¹ Example: Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹² Cf. William Christie MacLeod, *The Origin and History of Politics* (Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1931) (cited hereafter as "MacLeod, *The Origin*"), pp. 153 ff.

¹³ Cf. Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1933), pars. 10, 20.

¹⁴ On the variety of brother-sister relationship patterns cf. Linton, *Study of Man*, p. 123.

¹⁵ Cf. the recent studies in the classificatory systems of the primitives of East Asia and Africa in anthropology, since the publication of Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1877). Examples are: Han Yi Feng, "The Chinese Kinship System", *HJAS*, II (1937), 141 ff.; Bernard Willard Aginsky, *Kinship Systems and the Forms of Marriage* (*AAA Mem.*, No. 45 (Menasha, Wis.: American Anthropological Association, 1935)).

¹⁶ Cf. Linton, *Study of Man*, chap. x.

¹⁷ W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, Lecture II; Alfred Bertholet, *Kultugeschichte Israels* (Göttingen; Vandenhöck & Ruprecht, 1919), trans. A. K. Dallas, as: *A History of Hebrew Civilization* (New York, 1925), pp. 148 ff.; Johannes Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture* (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1926), pp. 60 ff.; George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Oxford University Press, 1927 ff.), II, 119 ff.

mined automatically also the religious duties of the Attic citizen,¹⁸ and the legally so clearly defined one among the Romans¹⁹ was brilliantly illustrated.²⁰ The family organizations of China,²¹ Egypt,²² India,²³ Iran,²⁴ Mexico,²⁵ and Peru²⁶ became known, and studies of the typology of socio-religious units in primitive society aroused numerous controversies and discussions.²⁷ Anthropological theories were formulated which regarded the family cult as the ultimate in religious development. So-called "Manism" was regarded by some as the source of religion.²⁸ These theories are exaggerations, but the basic nature of this most elementary sociological unit in the universal history of religion is now firmly established.²⁹

¹⁸ Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechisches Vereinswesen* (1896), p. 191; Georg Busolt, *Die griechischen Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer* (2nd ed.; München: C. H. Beck (O. Beck), 1892), p. 3.

¹⁹ Karl Joachim Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Staatsaltertümer* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1876), pp. 119 ff.; William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People from the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus* ("Gifford Lectures", 1909-10 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1922)) (cited hereafter as "Fowler, *Religious Experience*"), chap. iv; Ernst Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1901).

²⁰ Important at least in the historical development of our studies is, of course, Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique* (20th ed.; Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1908), trans. Willard Small as: *The Ancient City* (11th ed.; Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1901).

²¹ W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1923), p. 250. Cf. Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1915), Part I; Ching Chaowu, "The Chinese Family", *AA*, XXIX (1927), 316 ff.; K. S. Latourette, *The Chinese: Their History and Culture* (Macmillan), Part II, chap. xvii; Daniel Harrison Kulp, *Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism* (New York: Columbia University Press 1925), who discerns a natural, conventional (sib), economic, religious family, (pp. 140 ff.). Cf. also (with reservations): Marcel Granet, *Chinese Civilization* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930) (cited hereafter as "Granet, *Chinese Civilization*"), esp. pp. 310 ff.

²² Hermann Kees, "Ägypten", in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Walter Otto, Part I, Sec. III (1933), pp. 76 ff., on the Egyptian family.

²³ On the family in India cf. *SBE*, Vol. II, chap. iv; Vol. XXV, chap. iii; Vols. XXIX and XXX with valuable introductions; Julius Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1896), esp. pars. 1-13 (sources) and 15 ff. Cf. there on the twelve types of filial relations (chaps. xxi ff.).

²⁴ Cf. M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1922), chaps. ix, xl, and v.

²⁵ J. E. Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), chap. ii; George C. Vaillant, *The Aztecs of Mexico* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1941), chap. vi.

²⁶ T. A. Joyce, *South American Archaeology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), pp. 100-101. Cf. Sir Clements Robert Markham, *The Incas of Peru* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1910), pp. 112 ff.

²⁷ Cf. Wilhelm Schmidt, *The Origin and Growth of Religion: Facts and Theories*, trans. H. J. Rose (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1931).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. vi.

²⁹ On the idea of kinship with the protective deity among the Semites cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, chap. ii; on maternalism, *ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.; Lods, *Israel*, pp. 191 ff., 241 ff.; also Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (Oxford University Press, 1937) (cited hereafter as "Baron, *History of the Jews*"), III, 11. "As father the god belongs to the family or clan; as king he belongs to the state" (Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 40).

More than any other group, the family³⁰ is integrated by common religious worship.³¹ Although ritual and myth are closely related, as are cult and theology on the higher levels, it still remains true that the performance of the same rites, however simple, is more efficacious and significant than common convictions and beliefs. This can be illustrated by the fact that even among peoples who conscientiously practise ancestor worship, notions about the existence and fate of the departed remain very vague, as in ancient Israel, Greece, Rome, China, and Japan and in the religions of primitive peoples. An example of African society is revealing. The ancestral cult, according to Herskovits, must be regarded as the focal point of Dahomean social organization. The formulation of a new settlement (sib) is featured by the installation of the cult of the ancestors. All ritual acts connected with this type of worship are meticulously regulated and observed. "The prime duty of the head of the family", in the words of a monograph, "was the regular and scrupulous fulfillment of the ancestral sacrifices."³² A contrast appears generally to prevail between the burial practices observed even by the rudest tribes and the tenuous beliefs connected with them as evidenced by the role of the burial place in the patriarchal stories of the Old Testament.³³

The family cult may be characterized by distinctive ways of performing such regular, natural functions as eating (the term *ekapakena vasatam*, "community of those cooking together", is used for the Hindu family),³⁴ mating (note the associations connected with the concept of the "genius" in the Roman religion),³⁵ playing,³⁶ and working, or by the execution of specifically religious acts. The libation connected with the regular meal illustrates the former, whereas special, formal cult dinners, the burning of incense, sacrifice, and prayer illustrate the latter; but the line of

³⁰ On Polynesian family cult see R. W. Williamson, *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* (Cambridge: University Press, 1937), pp. 6, 102 ff.; Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Society* (Honolulu: The Museum, 1929), pp. 15 ff.; Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti* (Honolulu, 1928), pp. 141 ff.

³¹ On African family cult cf. Melville Herskovits, *Dahomey* (New York: J. J. Augustine, 1938), chaps. xi and xii. On the meticulously prescribed rites cf. *ibid.*, pp. 196 ff.

³² *ERE*, V, 747; Ignaz Goldziher, "Le Culte des ancêtres et le culte des morts chez les Arabes", *RHR*, X (1884), 332 ff.

³³ Abraham (Gen. xii, 7 ff., 13, 18; xxii, 9); Isaac (Gen. xxvi, 25); Jacob (Gen. xxxv, 7).

³⁴ Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 76.

³⁵ Cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Otto, "Genius" (art.), in *PWRE*, VII, 1155 ff.; Georg Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (München: C. H. Beck, 1902), pp. 154 ff.

³⁶ "Games" (art.), in *ERE*, VI, 167.

demarcation is not a sharp one. The cultic acts themselves are performed regularly (daily, monthly, or yearly) or more spontaneously during special occasions in the life of the individual or of the group. The most common religious ceremonies in the family take the form of prayer offerings and lustrations performed either collectively or individually by all the members of the family. The father ³⁷ or the mother ³⁸ generally acts as leader. In the Egyptian family, according to Erman, family life centres about the house-mother and not the father, the mother being the "house-ruler", the "focus of the house". Sometimes the pater-familias or a special officiant vicariously acts for the group. In Iran the father as well as the head of the sib, tribe, or country offers sacrifices to Mithra, the protector of all group life.³⁹ The domestic priesthood of the Germanic tribes ⁴⁰ rests with the father.⁴¹ The father of the Greek household was the natural guardian and representative of the family towards men and gods; he had to take care of the cult of the house deities, preserve the customs original to the family, and teach them to his son.⁴² The characterization of the Hebrew patriarch as the Baal of his house,⁴³ which in Pedersen's happy phrase formed a "psychic community stamped by him",⁴⁴ applies to the great majority of cultures. "The reverence paid to the head of the family was due not so much to his superior wisdom and strength as to his position as priest of the household. His unlimited authority rested on a spiritual basis. The family was a society bound together by common religious observance."

The typology of religious authority and the divisions of functions in the religious group will be discussed below in detail. Here it is sufficient to note that family worship need not necessarily be localized in the home. The cult of nomadic tribes and peoples in Africa or north-eastern Asia is not confined to any special place,

³⁷ Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* (3rd ed.; München: Beck, 1920 ff.), pp. 239-40.

³⁸ Adolf Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1934), p. 733.

³⁹ H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938), p. 60.

⁴⁰ On the expression of reverence due to father and mother in India cf. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 78; E. Washburn Hopkins, "Family Life and Social Customs as They Appear in the Sutras", *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I: *Ancient India*, ed. E. J. Rapson (Cambridge University Press, 1922).

⁴¹ Otto von Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1868, 1913), I, 15-16 (only parts are translated). Cf. John Donald Lewis, *The "Genossenschafts" Theory of Otto von Gierke: A Study in Political Thought* ("University of Wisconsin Studies in Social Sciences", Vol. XXV (Madison, 1935)).

⁴² *ERE*, V, 724.

⁴³ A. Causse, *Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1937), chap. i.

⁴⁴ Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, pp. 62 ff.

but, as Lowie has correctly pointed out,⁴⁵ the family as a social unit tends to disappear with the elimination of local contiguity. Biologically, he contends, a wandering member still belongs to the family but sociologically he does not. In sedentary life the ground, property, or house, especially the hearth,⁴⁶ the threshold, the storeroom,⁴⁷ the kitchen, niches, or other spots within the house or its precincts, become the focus of family devotion, together with private chapels, mantelpieces, fountains, etc. The presence of the numen is indicated by symbols (statues, images, emblems)⁴⁸ of a rude or even refined nature (the Chinese deities,⁴⁹ the Roman penates,⁵⁰ genius, and lar,⁵¹ the Russian icon). In honour of popular Tsao-wang, the Taoist deity of the hearth, whose function is parallel to that of the town-god of the citizenry, characteristic ceremonies are performed in China. "All the inmates of the Hindu home, both male and female", according to Jolly, "are expected to be present at the daily *pūja* performed by the hereditary priest of the family, and to make their obeisance to the stone or metal image of the tutelary god of the house."⁵² The *lar familiaris*, we hear of the Romans, "formed the sentimental centre for all phases of family life, and offerings of wreaths, incense, and wine were made to him on all family anniversaries. The lar represented the primitive concept of home and was the ideal figure about which the associations of the household clung."⁵³ In front of the lares, the investiture with the toga took place, accompanied by offerings to the gods.⁵⁴

Turning to the theoretical concepts of the family religion, we find that the Polynesian, African,⁵⁵ Indian, Chinese, and all Indo-

⁴⁵ R.H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927), p. 70.

⁴⁶ Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*, chap. iii: "The Sacred Fire". Cf. also "Hearth-(gods)" (art.), in *ERE*, VI, 559 ff.; Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896 ff.), Vol. V, chap. viii: "Hestia".

⁴⁷ *ERE*, V, 738 and 747.

⁴⁸ The *teraphim* (Gen. xxxi, 19, 34) might have been ancestor images.

⁴⁹ The spirits of the Chinese home are enumerated by Soothill, *Three Religions of China*, p. 251. Cf. Wilhelm Grube, *Religion und Kultus der Chinesen* (Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt, 1910), pp. 163 ff.

⁵⁰ "Penates" (art.), in *PWRE*, XXXVII, 474 ff.; "Roman Household Gods", *CAH*, VIII, 431 ff.; Georg Wissowa, "Die Anfänge des römischen Larenkultus," *ARW*, VII (1904), 42 ff.

⁵¹ Cf. "Lar" (art.), in *PWRE*, Vol. XXIII.

⁵² Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, pp. 76 ff. Cf. also William Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore in North India* (London: A. Constable & Co., 1896) (cited hereafter as "Crooke, *Popular Religion*"), chap. iv.

⁵³ Cf. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 75.

⁵⁴ Cf. W. W. Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity in the Last Century before the Christian Era* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1914), pp. 14 ff.

⁵⁵ On African "family-guardians" cf. Frederick William Butt-Thompson, *West-African Secret Societies, Their Organizations, Officials and Teachings* (London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1929) (cited hereafter as "Butt-Thompson, *Secret Societies*"), pp. 187 ff.

European theologies abound with deities responsible for the welfare of the domestic groups.⁵⁶ There are concepts similar to those of tutelary spirits, angels, and patrons at higher levels of cultural and religious development in the great monotheistic religions. Male and female elements are both represented in the family pantheon.⁵⁷ It is sometimes difficult to determine whether a household deity should be regarded as a personification of the *mana*, or "fortune", of its members, or whether the function of an older deity has been divided and appropriated by the house group.

In the family hut or house, people are born, marry, and die. It is with good reason that we deal here with the relation to religion of specific important *events* in the life of the family.⁵⁸ Birth, puberty, marriage, and death are, in our modern culture, understood primarily as incidents in the life of the individual, but anthropologists find that in primitive society they concern the group of which the individual forms so integral a part.⁵⁹ In our culture, again, it is customary that at least the family in the narrower sense of the word lives together, but in primitive society marriage does not necessarily involve living together; the father may be only a temporary visitor. Among the tribes of the Gran Chaco the children live half the year with their father and half with their mother.⁶⁰ The term "family" thus assumes a wider connotation, including patrilineal and matrilineal groups. The birth of a child is an event which concerns the whole group⁶¹ and is properly welcomed with elaborate communal ceremonies at

⁵⁶ Iranian family divinities: Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, p. 68; Indian: Crooke, *Popular Religion*, chap. ii. Cf. also below, chap. vi, sec. 7.

⁵⁷ Cf. Alfred Bertholet, *Götterspaltung und Göttervereinigung* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1930).

⁵⁸ The relation of religious concepts and rites to the fundamental events in the physiological life of man—what Karl Jaspers calls the "Grenzsituationen", in *Psychologie der Weltanschauungen* (3rd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1925)—has been carefully studied in modern anthropology, sociology, and history of religions. Cf., e.g., Arnold van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage: étude systématique des rites de la porte et du seuil* (Paris: E. Nourry, 1909); Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911); Malinowski, *Magic*, pp. 37 ff.; van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion*, pars. 22, 33; Paul Radin, *Primitive Religion* (Hamish Hamilton, 1937), chap. v; Linton, *Study of Man*, chaps. viii–xii; Williamson, *Religion and Social Organization*, pp. 271 ff.; "Religion and Individual Life"; Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman*, chap. ii; S. E. Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez*, chap. ii: "The Cycle of Life"; Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, chap. viii; Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, pp. 694 ff.; Margaret Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1920) (cited hereafter as "Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*"), esp. Part I.

⁵⁹ Cf. Malinowski, *Magic*, pp. 46 ff.: "Death and the Reintegration of the Group".

⁶⁰ Cf. W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), chap. viii: "Residence and Lineage".

⁶¹ Cf. Ernst Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*; Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, Part I, etc.; Nathan Miller, *The Child in Primitive Society* (New York: Brentano's, 1928).

which the child is officially named. Much material has been gathered on the significance of naming and all its implications. In Nordic countries, according to an excellent authority,⁶² the child was actually born only at the name-giving ceremony; that is, it was inspired with the life of the group (*Sippe*), and the giving of the name, which included the soul, was accompanied by a gift which was destined to "fasten" the name (*festmachen*) and to give strength to vitalize the new member of the group.

Pregnancy and birth are both accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. The new-born child is received not only precautionarily into the community in which he is to live but into the entire cultic unit. The gods of the group will be his gods, and he will be responsible for their worship. The "sacraments of simple folk" include ceremonies analogous to baptism.⁶³ The next important step in the life of an individual, initiation into the full rights of adulthood, takes place at puberty.⁶⁴ Boys and girls, again, partake in these procedures not so much as individuals but as members of a certain age group.⁶⁵ This initiation is the formal introduction to the esoteric knowledge (myth, doctrine) and the ritual traditions of the group and is, therefore, of pre-eminent religious significance. In practically every religion the reception of the initiates is marked with special solemnity. In another context we shall discuss in detail this type of religious institution and trace its analogies in the more highly developed religions.

After puberty the next great occasion in the life of the individual and of the group is marriage.⁶⁶ It is unnecessary for us to dwell on the multifarious types of matrimony: polyandry, polygamy, levirate and sororate marriages, etc.⁶⁷ Complicated classifications and elaborate regulations (endogamy, etc.) characterize this aspect of life in primitive society. Of special interest to us is the custom of endogamy, which, whatever its origin may

⁶² Grönbech, "Die Germanen", in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, II, 566, 561.

⁶³ R. R. Marett, *Sacraments of Simple Folks* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), chap. v.

⁶⁴ Cf. below, sec. 7, pp. 103 ff.

⁶⁵ It has been rightly observed that biological and official "coming of age" do not always coincide; cf. Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Routledge, 1946), pp. 18 ff., and Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1942) and *Coming of Age in Samoa* (London: Routledge, 1928).

⁶⁶ Cf. Alfred Ernest Crawley, *The Mystic Rose: A Study of Primitive Marriage* (new ed. by Theodore Besterman (Watts, 1927)); Franz Boas (ed.), *General Anthropology* (Harrap, 1938), chap. ix, pp. 430 ff.; Marett, *Sacraments of Simple Folks*, chap. iv; Lowie, *Primitive Society*, chaps. ii, iii; L. T. Hobbhouse, *Morals in Evolution* (new ed.; London: Chapman & Hall, 1915), Part I, chaps. iv, v.

⁶⁷ Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (Macmillan, 1910); Aginsky, *Kinship Systems and the Forms of Marriage*; Millar Burrows, *The Basis of Israelite Marriage* ("American Oriental Series", Vol. XV (New Haven, Conn., 1938)).

have been, has definitely its implications and is found in very different types of civilization (Parsi in India,⁶⁸ Jews and Catholics in the United States). Many of the "simple folks" honour the sacrament of marriage with elaborate religious rites. The concepts of the "sacred marriage" of the gods (*hieros gamos*) in ancient oriental,⁶⁹ in the Greek and Japanese religions are examples of a rather primitive notion of the consecration of the physical carried over into a more advanced phase of religion.

Not only marriage but also celibacy may have religious significance, sanction, and motivation. Solemn vows of renunciation keynote initiation into celibate life among the Aztecs, Hebrews, Mohammedans, Manichaeans, and Buddhists. Groups vary⁷⁰ in their reactions to such decisions of renunciation.⁷¹ Some groups regard it with horror as an impiety, defrauding the ancestor of worship in the future. They are certain that such defections will cause misfortune to the group.

Death, the mystery of mysteries,⁷² as can well be imagined, gives rise to numerous theoretical speculations in the form of myths as well as to various magical and religious rites.⁷³ From a sociological point of view, its chief effect is to cut the individual off from his group and to deprive the family of a constituent member or of its head. The ceremonies which revolve about the departed are designed to remove pollution and other evil consequences and to propitiate the deity and thus obtain the favour of the spirit of the deceased. "There is nothing that the Indian shuns to such an extent as the demons which are believed to cause disease, and the contagion of death which is likewise personified."⁷⁴

⁶⁸ As an illustration of higher religion: Zoroastrian religion is very decided in this respect: "There was in the Sassanian period, as there is to-day, a strong disapproval of marriage outside the Zoroastrian community . . ." (*ERE*, V, 145).

⁶⁹ S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth and Ritual* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 9-10; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, pp. 47 ff.

⁷⁰ Cf. John Main, pseudonym for Elsie W. Clews Parsons, *Religious Chastity: An Ethnological Study* (New York: Macaulay & Co., 1913).

⁷¹ Arthur D. Nock, "Eunuchs in Ancient Religion", *ARW*, XXIII (1925), 25 ff.

⁷² For the philosophical aspect cf. Joachim Wach, *Das Problem des Todes in der Philosophie unserer Zeit* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1934).

⁷³ Marett, *Sacraments of Simple Folks*, chap. x; "Death and Disposal of the Dead" (art.), in *ERE*, IV, 411 ff.; Lewis Bayles Paton, *Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1921) (comparative); South America (Peru): Joyce, *South American Archaeology*, chap. vii; Mexico: Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez*, pp. 49 ff. (abodes of dead); Hinduism: Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, chaps. vii, viii. Cf. James George Frazer, *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion* (*Lectures Delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge*, 1932-33) (London: Macmillan & Co., 1933); Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman*, pp. 106 ff.; Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1924), Part II, chap. xvii, etc.

⁷⁴ Rafael Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians* (London: K. Paul Trench, Trubner & Co., 1926), p. 469.

The assemblage of mourners about the dying person is integrated through the performance of "last rites". The South California Indians feature an especially elaborate mourning ceremony.⁷⁵ It is not uncommon in some societies to find that the dying person is completely isolated.

The extent to which death is hedged about with ceremonies indicates the tremendous awe which it evokes and the bearing on the life of the group. The Hebrew,⁷⁶ Greek,⁷⁷ Etruscan,⁷⁸ Persian,⁷⁹ Egyptian,⁸⁰ Mahayana Buddhist,⁸¹ Taoist, and Christian rites clearly reveal this attitude. Either the departed is considered to have gone and is, therefore, prevented by a series of rites from returning and upsetting the newly achieved equilibrium of the surviving group, or he continues even after death to be regarded as a highly revered, howbeit invisible, member of the group. In this way the ancestors form a vital part of most of the primitive,⁸² of Peruvian,⁸³ Chinese,⁸⁴ Japanese,⁸⁵ Hindu,⁸⁶ and Roman⁸⁷ families, whose integrity is thus assured through the worship of the

⁷⁵ Cf. Alfred Louis Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 78 (Washington, D.C., 1925)), pp. 859 ff. Cf. the death customs of the Hurons in W. Vernon Kintz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes 1615-1760* ("Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology", No. 10 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1940)), pp. 99 ff.

⁷⁶ Lods, *Israel*, pp. 218 ff.

⁷⁷ M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, trans. F. J. Fieldon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 101, on the Greek cult of the dead. Cf. Walter Otto, *Die Manen* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1923), chap. i. On the Greek *amphidromia* and the Roman *dies lustricus* cf. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, pp. 59 ff.

⁷⁸ On the paramount role of death in the Etruscan religion cf. R. S. Conway, "Italy in the Etruscan Age", in *CAH*, IV, 418-19. On the Celtic cult of the dead see J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), chaps. x, xxii.

⁷⁹ *ERE*, V, 146. The sacred feast, the consecration of the sacred cakes, the benediction for the souls of the dead, which will avert misfortune from the living, are described by Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, p. 67.

⁸⁰ Cf. Kees, "Ägypten", pp. 96 ff., on Egyptian burial rites. Cf. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, chaps. xiv-xvi.

⁸¹ Karl Ludwig Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism: A Study in Mahayana Buddhism*, trans. K. van Wagenen Bugge (Shanghai, China: Commercial Press, Ltd., 1927), chap. iv: "Masses for the Dead".

⁸² Polynesian-Melanesian ancestor worship: Buck, *Anthropology*, pp. 3 ff.; W. Deane, *Fijian Society, or the Sociology and Psychology of the Fijians* (London, 1921), chaps. iv, v; Australia: Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, Vol. I, chap. xii; Africa: Charles Kingsley Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun-speaking Peoples of Nigeria* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1931) (cited hereafter as "Meek, *Sudanese Kingdom*"), chaps. iv, v.

⁸³ On Peruvian ancestor worship see Joyce, *South American Archaeology*, p. 144.

⁸⁴ Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, chaps. vi, x.

⁸⁵ *ERE*, V, 140-41. Cf. Nobushige Hozumi, *Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1940), Part II.

⁸⁶ Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, pars. 57, 22; Crooke, *Popular Religion*, chap. iv, esp. pp. 175 ff.

⁸⁷ Fowler, *Religious Experience*, p. 69: "The idea that the gens is immortal in spite of the deaths of individuals is one which constitutes it as a permanent entity, and gives it a quasi-religious sanction."

forebears.⁸⁸ The basis of all cultic activities among the southwestern Zuñi Indians, according to Ruth Bunzel, is the cult of the ancestors in which all join "regardless of age, sex, or affiliation with other cults".⁸⁹ A Tanala clan has two equally "real" sections—the living and the dead.⁹⁰ A typical Chinese village has the ancient ancestral hall of the entire sib, two newer ones for the two moieties, a number of smaller ones, and, finally, the minute cubicles which are built in each homestead.⁹¹ Modern Chinese are reported to have doubted whether Christians possess ancestors because there is no ancestor worship. All events of paramount importance in the life of the family are reported with fitting solemnity to the fathers, represented by statues, images, or pictures.⁹² By their attendance, the ancestors bless all major religious functions in the home. "The family", we are told, "from its first ancestor to its latest generation was a unit", and its unbroken connection was all-important. "Ancestor worship, while not peculiar to Japan but shared by all clan people, attained among the Japanese a remarkable hold through this sense of family unity; and Shinto, the most essentially Japanese of the faiths, developed at a time when the worship of the ancestors was strong and vital."⁹³

The family as a cultic unit includes,⁹⁴ in addition to the related members of the household, the slaves⁹⁵ and servants⁹⁶ as well as sojourners, whether aliens or guests.⁹⁷ The stranger, who is received as a guest, tacitly accepts for himself the cultic rights

⁸⁸ Cf. also "Ahnen-Kultus" (art.), in Oscar Schrader, *RIA*, pp. 21 ff., and now Otto Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (Frankfurt a.M.: M. Diesterweg, 1934) (cited hereafter as "Höfler, *Geheimbünde*"), pp. 222 ff. ("Sippenorganisation der Toten"), 250 ff.

⁸⁹ Ruth Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism", *BAE*, 1929-30, pp. 509 ff.

⁹⁰ Linton, *Study of Man*, pp. 121 ff.

⁹¹ Kulpe, *Country Life in South China*, pp. 146, 307 ff.; Granet, *Chinese Civilization*, pp. 180 ff.

⁹² Cf. Erich Bethe, *Ahnenbild und Familiengeschichte bei Griechen und Römern* (München: C. M. Beck, 1935), esp. pp. 4 and 5.

⁹³ Cf. James Thayer Addison, "Religious Life in Japan", *HTHR*, XVIII (1925), 327 ff., Sec. I: "Family Ancestor Worship"; Hozumi, *Ancestor-Worship*, pp. 54 ff. (prayers, "declaring-name", feasts of family).

⁹⁴ Good examples: Heinrich Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900), pp. 58 ff.

⁹⁵ Slavery in primitive society, the conditions of its origin and its types: Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 217 ff.

⁹⁶ The servants are shown to be a part of the ancient Indo-Germanic family by Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Part I, p. 258.

⁹⁷ On the Greek custom cf. Albert Galloway Keller, *Homeric Society: A Sociological Study of the Iliad and Odyssey* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902), pp. 299 ff.; on the Germanic cf. Lily Weiser, *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbünde* ("Bausteine zur Volkskunde und Religionswissenschaft", ed. Eugen Fehrle, No. 1 (Bühl, Baden: Konkordia A. G., 1927)), and "Zur Geschichte der altgermanischen Todesstrafe", *ARW*, XXX (1933), 209 ff.

and duties of the household.⁹⁸ (This also applies to the permanent establishment of blood brotherhood.) The Greek,⁹⁹ Roman, and Iranian¹⁰⁰ slaves embraced the gods of their masters; in ancient Israel the servants worshipped with the patriarchs.¹⁰¹ "The Hebrew slave was a true member of the family. . . . He was circumcised and kept the Passover. He was admitted into the family cult. He prayed to the gods of his master (Gen. xxiv, 12)."¹⁰² The hearth functioned as an asylum to all who took refuge there.¹⁰³ Detailed regulations prescribe the attitude of the group towards the alien,¹⁰⁴ both in primitive society and in highly nomistic religions, such as later Judaism and Parsiism.

Finally, it is to be noted that the function of the family is not confined to the enjoyment of mutual understanding, help, or protection; this unit also has considerable socio-economic importance. The family in many instances formed a "religiously grounded economy" (cf. the resurrection of this function in Christian sects such as the Moravians, Amish, Dukhobors, etc.). Certain occupations and professions, often hereditary, are appropriated or even monopolized by individual families, a phenomenon which will interest us later in connection with the study of the impact of social differentiation upon religious organization (chap. vi).

In modern Western civilization the continuous process of secularization which has gradually divorced their religious function from the traditional social bodies has to a large extent stripped the family of its character as a cultic unit.¹⁰⁵ The oriental countries, much more conservative, resisted the "acids of modernity" until the twentieth century, when they too began to follow the Western pattern, although in different tempo and degree. The sudden transformation of feudal Japan into a modern empire (Meiji restoration in 1868) epitomizes the sociological consequences of modernization and westernization of the

⁹⁸ On the Germanic custom see Weiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff.

⁹⁹ Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 191, 277 ff., 299 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, p. 73.

¹⁰¹ On the "protected strangers" (Heb. *gerim*) in Semitic society cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 75 ff.; Edouard Paul Dhorme, *L'Évolution religieuse d'Israël* (Bruxelles: Nouvelle Société d'éditions, 1937), chap. xvi: "Les Étrangers"; Lods, *Israel*, pp. 201 ff. For later times cf. Moore, *Judaism*, II, 135 ff.

¹⁰² *ERE*, V, 725.

¹⁰³ "Asylum" (art.), in *ERE*, II, 161 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, pp. 35 ff.; van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion*, par. 33.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. MacLeod, *The Origin and History of Politics* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1931), pp. 153 ff., on the disintegration of the Indo-Germanic and Far Eastern family.

East.¹⁰⁶ The traditional family unity, founded in ancient collectivism, was severely shaken by the modern emphasis on the individual.¹⁰⁷ The decline of tribal religion in all civilizations paved the way for the emergence of more universal outlooks. The impact of the great charismatic religions on the sociological structure of traditional civilizations brought in its wake two major effects. The new conception of God, man, and society implied the dissolution and destruction of natural ties and the simultaneous creation of new ones, sometimes coupled with the consecration of the old bonds. The cultic homogeneity of the family group threatened by a radically negative attitude towards its natural foundations could thus be saved.

The separation into different cultic or "denominational" units within one family occurs only in more complex cultures and even there only in rare instances. Examples can be found in the late Roman civilization, during the Reformation, and in India, China, and Japan, where tolerance or indifference towards devotional and denominational differences allow for such cleavages.

3. KINSHIP CULTS

In dealing with the family cult, we found great variations in family type. In primitive societies, for instance, a child may live in closer relationship with either the patrilinear¹⁰⁸ or the matrilinear relatives. We speak of a sib¹⁰⁹ as a unilateral group united by common kinship and frequently by communal residence as well. Several sibs may incorporate by adopting a common name which serves as the instrument of union. However tenuous the claim to blood relationship may actually be, its assumption

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *ERE*, V, 741; on the bearing of this transformation of the social structure in Japan see Hozumi, *Ancestor-Worship*, pp. 110 ff. (clan-house-personal registration). Also Robert Karl Reischauer, *Japan: Governments, Politics* (T. Nelson & Sons, 1939), chap. i.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. also Albert Eustace Haydon, *Modern Trends in World Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934) (cited hereafter as "Haydon, *Modern Trends*"); C. Brinkmann, "Family" (art.), in *ESS*, VI, 67 ff., and Regina Westcott Wieman, *The Modern Family and the Church* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1937); Ernest Rutherford Groves, *Christianity and the Family* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), esp. chaps. i-iii. For contemporary conditions in the United States cf. esp. the statistical bibliography referred to in chap. vi, sec. 10.

¹⁰⁸ Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 64 ff. Cf. "Social Organization" (art.), in *ESS*, XIV, 141 ff.; Linton, *Study of Man*, chaps. xii and xiv.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, chap. iii, who defines the family as a loose, the sib as a fixed unit (p. 112). Cf. also Gladys A. Reichardt, "Social Life", in *General Anthropology*, ed. Boas, pp. 474 ff.; George P. Murdock, "Correlations of Matrilineal and Patrilineal Relations", in *Studies in the Science of Society Presented to A. G. Keller* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 445 ff.

will suffice to weld the sibs together. Adoption may legalize the fiction of common ancestry between people not related by blood. In Rome, for instance, an adopted child was dismissed from the old gens and was received into the sacra of the new gens.¹¹⁰ In other words the unity of the sibs may be based on widely different presuppositions and with equally varied functions.¹¹¹ The number of groups forming a phratry or tribe varies considerably, as does the degree of affinity between the groups. The term "moiety"¹¹² has been coined to designate the two complementary halves of a tribe (named "war" and "peace", "land" and "water", "sky" and "earth" people) each containing subsibs.¹¹³ Exogamous moieties are rare in Africa, more frequent in Australia and Melanesia.¹¹⁴ In Peru the *ayllu* were divided into two groups residing in separate quarters (Upper and Lower Cuzco).¹¹⁵ There are examples of "ceremonial hostility" between two such units.¹¹⁶ Frequently, as evidenced by numerous examples from Oceania and Africa,¹¹⁷ a stratification or order develops, granting high rank or prestige to some sibs, while others must accept a more humble position. We also meet, on one hand, with sibless tribes, in which the family remains as the working unit, or, on the other, with confederations of tribes, foreshadowing the formation of states (League of Iroquois,¹¹⁸ "Sudan States",¹¹⁹ Turko-Mongol confederacies).¹²⁰

¹¹⁰ Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 90; van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, pp. 53-54.

¹¹¹ Different types are enumerated by Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 121-22. There also on peculiarities of the great four North American territories with sib organization.

¹¹² Cf. Ronald L. Olson, *Clan and Moiety in North America* (Calif. Pub., Vol. XXXIII (1934)), pp. 351 ff. Cf. also William Duncan Strong, "An Analysis of Southwest Society", *AA*, XXIX (1927), 1 ff., showing the wide distribution of dichotomy in this area (p. 57).

¹¹³ Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 118, who illustrates this conception with examples from American Indian tribes. (Cf. our discussion of the Sioux, below, chap. vi, secs. 4-5.)

¹¹⁴ Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, chap. ii; Radcliffe-Brown, *Social Organization of Australian Tribes*, pp. 107-8.

¹¹⁵ Joyce, *South American Archaeology*, pp. 100-101; MacLeod, *Origin and History of Politics*, pp. 217 ff.

¹¹⁶ MacLeod, *Origin and History of Politics*, pp. 217 ff.

¹¹⁷ Thurnwald, "Schichtung" (art.), in *RLV*, XI, 230 ff., and "Kaste", *ibid.*, VI, 235 ff.; *ESS*, XIV, 147 ff. Cf. also MacLeod, *Origin and History of Politics*, esp. chap. vii.

¹¹⁸ Lewis H. Morgan, *The League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, ed. H. M. Lloyd (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1901), pp. 18 ff. Cf. MacLeod, *Origin and History of Politics*, chap. viii; A. C. Parker, *The Constitution of the Five Nations* (New York State Museum Bull. 184 (Albany, 1916)).

¹¹⁹ Cf. Thurnwald, "Politische Entwicklung" (art.), in *RLV*, X, 200 ff., and "Staat", XII, 358 ff.; and below, chap. vii.

¹²⁰ A. E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure* ("Yale Publications in Anthropology", No. XX (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford)), 1938) (cited hereafter as "Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure*"), pp. 74 ff.

We are not concerned with the origin, development, and interaction of these groups but rather with their influence on religious activity (ceremonial functions, mythological concepts, etc.). The interrelation between the natural and the religious group may vary considerably, even in comparatively homogeneous territories, as we can see from an interesting analysis of the south-western American Indians.¹²¹ In the comparatively diversified society of the Zúñi of New Mexico,¹²² a complicated system regulates the relations of individuals and groups towards the cultic associations, which are clanic and not tribal in character.¹²³ In some societies all cultic groups are ethnically homogeneous; in others sib and tribal cults are but one type of existing religious association. Sociologically, the effect of the sib organization which doubles as a cult unit is twofold.¹²⁴ On the one hand, its norms and statutes serve to integrate the group by regulating the activities and by defining the attitudes of the members towards one another and towards outsiders; on the other hand, they tend to separate or even to isolate the individuals from the outside world.¹²⁵ "In primitive communities", says Lowie, "a specific mode of behaviour may be rigidly determined for each and every form of possible relationship."¹²⁶ Thus the individual is "bound to render service to an individual of one class; with another he may jest and take liberties; with persons of a third category he must have nothing to do except through intermediaries, and so forth". The much-discussed institutions of exogamy and endogamy illustrate well this hardening of group relationship.¹²⁷ Many explanations have been advanced to explain the practice whereby law, custom, or moral obligation decrees that marriage be contracted exclusively outside the group, tribe, or moiety.¹²⁸ We can better understand such concepts and their relevance to religious expression if we note that these same groups are likely to be highly devoted to certain symbols ¹²⁹—

¹²¹ Strong, "An Analysis of Southwestern Society", *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 45 ff.

¹²² Bunzel, "Introduction to Zúñi Ceremonialism", *op. cit.*, pp. 477 ff.; Elsie W. Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (2 vols.; Cambridge University Press, 1939).

¹²³ Cf. below, sec. 7, and chap. v, sec. 2.

¹²⁴ Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*, chap. v.: "Kinship-Behavior" (excerpts from reports).

¹²⁵ On parent-in-law taboos cf. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 84 ff.; cf. also Radcliffe-Brown, *Social Organization of Australian Tribes*, pp. 105 ff., 29 ff.

¹²⁶ Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 80.

¹²⁷ Cf. the standard work by Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, also *Totemica* (suppl.).

¹²⁸ Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Part I, pp. 203 ff., 219 ff.

¹²⁹ Good examples: Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, Vol. I, chap. iv, for Australian totems.

plants, animals, objects, or parts of objects which are of great importance to their unification.¹³⁰ These symbols frequently, though not always, serve as eponyms, and in many cases a religious motivation is clearly discernible. The occasional absence of this religious motivation is in many instances due to a long process of "secularization" which has to a greater or lesser extent penetrated the whole institution. Although not all totems are taboo and so forbidden to be killed or eaten, they are usually regarded with awe. The totem animal is, on the one hand, non-human, strangely different, uncanny; on the other, very close and familiar. The mixture of these aspects helps us to understand the veneration of the animal as "numinous".¹³¹ This indicates that in the remote past these symbols were intimately connected with numinous manifestations, a fact which explains the mysterious and apparently irrational character of the grouping which purely pragmatic interpretation fails to recognize.

Inasmuch as religious experience is expressed both in thought and in action, it is natural that we find both sib mythologies and sib rites.¹³² In some areas we meet with ceremonies which are entrusted to special groups of individuals belonging to a distinct sib or clan.¹³³ The correspondence of social and religious grouping in particular tribes, clans, and phratries serves to indicate the intimacy of the relationship between them. Divergences in lore and ritual within one natural group are, of course, frequent. Basic myths or doctrines may differ, or perhaps one group will elaborate variant forms of the same myth with a corresponding change in cultus or morals. Here individual initiative may play a role. An inspired religious leader, a shaman, prophet, or priest, in a particular group might be influential in forming a new group, either smaller or larger than the older "natural" one.¹³⁴ Examples of this are abundant in the religions of the American Indians and the north-eastern Asiatics.¹³⁵ Usually the change takes place without injury to the traditional sociological structure, but sometimes the leader or prophet is able to bring about some

¹³⁰ Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 137 ff., 145.

¹³¹ Van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion*, par. 8.

¹³² See Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies: A Study in Early Politics and Religion* (Macmillan), chap. ix: "The Clan Ceremonies".

¹³³ For the cult privileges of certain *gentes* in ancient Rome (*sacra adtributa certis familiis*) cf. "Gens" (art.), in *PWRE*, VII, 1184-85, where families are enumerated.

¹³⁴ Examples and bibliography will be given below, chap. v, sec. 2.

¹³⁵ Cf. also below, chap. viii, and W. J. Hauer, *Die Religionen* (Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1923), I, 458 ff.; cf. Jaime de Angulo and L. S. Freeland, "A New Religious Movement in North Central California", *AA*, XXXI (1929), 265 ff., and E. M. Loeb, "Shaman and Seer", *AA*, XXXI (1929), 60 ff.

rather radical innovations.¹³⁶ Similarities of mythical and cultic forms among various clans and among the moieties of a phratry may be limited to special features such as cosmological traditions, sacred dances, and initiation ceremonies. The historian ferrets out with interest the subtle influences which have changed the one-time traditional social and religious character of society.

Groups closely related by blood are sometimes found to have completely antagonistic doctrines and institutions. Even the more highly developed religious groups maintain theological notions which are in reality perversions of doctrines held by kindred groups. Thus the concept of *deva*, which is the designation for the gods in ancient India, becomes the *daeua* (demon) among the related Iranians; Perkun, the name of the old Lithuanian oak-god, is the designation for the devil with Christians; Jesus, the divine saviour of the Christians, was considered a devil by the Mandaeans; the Yazidi, an interesting sect in the neighbourhood of Islam, honour Iblis, the awesome fallen angel of Mohammedanism, who is thought to have repented.

Let us now pass in review some types of sub-organizations as cult units. An interesting transitional form between the large family so common among the Indo-Germanic peoples and the tribe is the brotherhood (*bratstvo*) of the South Slavs.¹³⁷ A *bratstvo* consists of natural brothers who have left the house community (*zadruga*) of the great family and maintain for themselves a similar political, territorial, and religious community.¹³⁸ Not only in the less advanced cultures like Polynesia, with its social temples of the clan (*mare*),¹³⁹ but even in the more highly developed, racially heterogeneous civilizations ethnic groups may form cultic units.¹⁴⁰ Although their importance diminishes with the emergence of stronger and more centralized political organizations and with the growing competition of local societies, they may survive indefinitely as purely cultic units.

¹³⁶ On "sectarianism" in primitive society see below, chap. v, n. 500.

¹³⁷ Schrader, in *RIA*, pp. 770-71. Cf. there on the relation to the Germanic sibs.

¹³⁸ The concept of common property of the clan has been studied by MacLeod, "The Family Hunting Territory and Lenape Political Organization", *AA*, XXIV, 448 ff. Cf. also Thurnwald, *Economics*, p. 266.

¹³⁹ On clan cult in Polynesia and its "social temples" see Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. in the United States certain sectarian communities as the Molokan brotherhood, for whom *bratstvo* and *obshchestvo* (community) are synonymous. Their *sobranie* (meeting) is a cultic and civic gathering. (Cf. Pauline Vislick Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), pp. 30 ff., 70 ff., and Paul Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture*, ed. M. Karpovich (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), Vol. I, chap. vi; cf. below, chap. v, nn. 267 ff., 527.

Just as peculiar rites and cults may differentiate various families of one clan,¹⁴¹ so religious divisions may develop within a tribe or in a national society; where differentiation leads to stratification, we find aristocracies and castes and hierarchies and their cultic counterparts (cf. chap. vi). Some examples may serve to illustrate this point. In Egypt¹⁴² the cultic development is less determined by gentile than by local differences, which are reflected in the political and religious structure. The political system of imperial Peru clearly represents a consanguinary organization which once had cultic affiliations.¹⁴³ The emperor and his wife are believed to have represented one of the traditional moieties and to have been the high priests of the sun and earth cults respectively. The exogamous Aztec *calpulli* are supposed to have been a tribal division¹⁴⁴ which later assumed—in addition to religious—local, military, and political significance.¹⁴⁵ In Mexico property was once owned in common by each *calpulli*, who assigned it in small tracts to individual families and could regain it at will.¹⁴⁶ The *calpulli* was sovereign within its domain. Each had a council house and its own god and place of worship. In China the cohesion and unity of the village were largely determined by the degree of blood relationship.¹⁴⁷

The ancient Japanese *uji* is of considerable interest.¹⁴⁸ *Uji* is the name for a clan, although originally it signified a household. These units were later subdivided into smaller groups of related people “including all the members of a given family” and “named after the favour of the royal Uji, the occupation of the family members, or the place of residence”.¹⁴⁹ Later they developed into communities more or less economically and politically independent and became the most important unit in Japanese

¹⁴¹ On tribal organization cf. Linton, *Study of Man*, chap. xiv: “Tribe and State”.

¹⁴² Cf. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, pp. 7–8. Cf., however, Kees, “Ägypter”, pp. 185 ff., on the gentile character of the officialdom of the Oldest Kingdom and the changes brought about in the times of the Fifth Dynasty.

¹⁴³ On the political system of imperial Peru and the underlying consanguinary organization cf. MacLeod, *Origin and History of Politics*, chap. xiv.

¹⁴⁴ MacLeod (*ibid.*, chap. vii) develops the concept of a primitive “pyramidal” genealogical structure of society, later superseded by other patterns of rule. Cf. there, pp. 132 ff., on the survival of exogamic clans in higher civilizations.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. T. T. Waterman, *Bandelier's Contributions to the Study of Ancient Mexican Social Organization* (Calif. Pub., Vol. XII (1917)), pp. 249 ff.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Robert Redfield, “The Calpolli-Barrio in a Present-Day Mexican Pueblo”, *AA*, XXX (1928), 282 ff.

¹⁴⁷ Kulp (*Country Life in South China*, chap. vi), in his sociology of Chinese village life, states that the bases of family alignment in Phenix Village are “blood, land and law”.

¹⁴⁸ “Family (Jap.)” (art.), in *ERE*, V, 740 ff.; Hozumi, *Ancestor-Worship*, pp. 47 ff.

¹⁴⁹ Hozumi discusses the development from clan to local tutelary deity (*op. cit.*, p. 52).

society, especially during feudal days. The power of the patriarch was almost unlimited, but was tempered somewhat by the council of relatives.¹⁵⁰ It was customary for the patriarch to resign from the headship of the group (*inkyo*) when age (to-day, some time after fifty) and other difficulties contravened. Like the family, the clan was a most effective and integrated unit which accepted both living and dead members and developed its own cult. Recently the influence of modern European institutions resulted in the Meiji legislation, which has substantially modified the old system, but it survives even now in part.

In his illuminating studies on the religion of ancient Iran,¹⁵¹ Professor Nyberg calls attention to the interesting concept of the god Mithra as the personification of social cohesion existing between members of the social group which we find in the Yasht of the Avesta. A hierarchy is indicated according to which "the God is a hundred times between father and son, ninety times between two brothers, seventy times between teacher and pupil—ten thousand times between the members of the community (*daena*) of the worshippers of Ahura-Mazda". The sense of cohesion is thus rather strong in the blood-relationship groups, less strong in the intimate spiritual fellowships and strongest in the communions of faith. According to Nyberg, another sociological personification is Sraosha, who represents the community of Mithra's followers.¹⁵² Nyberg's suggestion that some of the puzzling "abstract" concepts of the Iranian religion can best be interpreted in sociological terms, though not in Comte-Durkheim's style, is a fruitful one.¹⁵³

The cohesion of the Germanic sibs was particularly strong.¹⁵⁴ The members were in duty bound to assist one another and to avoid internecine strife. They called themselves "friends" and their group a *moegburg*.¹⁵⁵ Each *moegburg* functioned as a cultic unit which survived even the formation of greater and more powerfully organized units. It is, however, significant that one of the greatest authorities on this grouping, von Gierke, expressly states that the natural tie of the clan ("das natürliche Geschlecht")

¹⁵⁰ Cf. above, sec. 2, n. 107.

¹⁵¹ Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, pp. 55 ff., 60.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 87 ff. Cf. also Jules Toutain, "Hermès: Dieu social chez les Grecs", *RHP*, XII (1937), 289 ff.

¹⁵⁴ Karl von Amira, "Recht", in *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, ed. H. Paul, III, 155 f.; cf. "Sippe" (art.), in Schrader's *RIA*, pp. 770 ff., and Höfler, *Geheimbünde*, pp. 223 f., esp. 252.

¹⁵⁵ Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, I, 15 ff. Cf. below, chap. vi, n. 242.

was the basis of communal life, whereas the artificial clan organizations ("künstliche Geschlechtsverbände") resembling Hebrew, Afghan, and Scotch clans, have never demonstrably performed that function. The *Geschlechtsverbände*, uniting the members of patrician and noble families during the Middle Ages, were of considerable political, economic, and cultural importance,¹⁵⁶ possessed a strong cultic organization,¹⁵⁷ and, in general, present an interesting parallel to the ethnic and cultic organizations of Greece and Rome.

In ancient, nomadic Israel, the *mishpacha* or clan, including the *beth-ab* (father's house), played the important role that similar units do among nomad Arabs to-day.¹⁵⁸ As long as mutual protection and defence were necessary, this group, whose members called one another "brothers"¹⁵⁹ and claimed descent from a common ancestor, was of great practical utility. It constituted, according to the best authorities, a "small, closed religious community" and assembled its members for an annual sacrifice as late as the time of Saul.¹⁶⁰ The next higher unit was the tribe (*matteh, shebet*), perhaps a temporary confederation, whose history is too complicated to trace here, but which survived long after the conquest and settlement in Canaan. The old tribes, which originated as consanguineous groups, now became territorial units. All groups, like the nation itself, were integrated by their cult, which was of an exclusive character.¹⁶¹ Robertson Smith says: "In the same measure as the god of a clan or *beth-ab* had indisputable claim to the reverence and service of the community to which he belonged, he was necessarily an enemy to their enemies and a stranger to those to whom they were strangers."¹⁶² In Semitic communities men and their gods formed one social, political, and religious whole.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁶ Gierke, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chaps. xxxvi-xxxix, with illustration of their cultic significance.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 16 ff.

¹⁵⁸ A. Lods, *Israel*, chap. ii; J. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, pp. 29 ff., 46 ff.; A. Bertholet, *A History of Hebrew Civilization*, Book II, chap. i; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, chap. ii; Theodore Henry Robinson, *A History of Israel* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), chaps. iv, vii; Causse, *Groupe ethnique*, chap. i.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Pedersen's discussion of the term *ʿah* and the concept of brotherhood which "extends as far as the feeling of consanguinity exists" (*Israel, Its Life and Culture*, pp. 57 ff.).

¹⁶⁰ Lods, *Israel*, pp. 195 ff., 241, with reference to I Sam. xx, 6, 27. Cf. Bertholet, *Kulturgeschichte Israels*, p. 148.

¹⁶¹ Lods, *Israel*, pp. 391 ff.; Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, pp. 29 ff.

¹⁶² W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, Lects. XXXV and LI.

¹⁶³ Cf. William F. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), chaps. iii, iv.

The immigrating Greeks were organized in *gene* which contained descendants from the same ancestors and worshippers of the same deity.¹⁶⁴ They lived together, considered themselves as brothers (*kasignetoî*), and were led by a leader who functioned as the priest of the clan. The Dorian Greeks¹⁶⁵ were originally divided into phyles (Hylleis, Dymanes, Pamphyloi) of nine *phratrîai* each, a division destined in later times to be reduced to sacral significance alone, as the local organizations usurped their other functions. A gentilic order of similar function existed in Crete, which also was unified by the tribe and not by the locality.¹⁶⁶ Of like nature was the grouping in Athens, where the four ancient phyles were not without local and even professional significance.¹⁶⁷ Besides being subdivided into local trittyes, the phyles included a number of phratries, all worshipping¹⁶⁸ the same ancestors.¹⁶⁹ The nobility developed out of this gentilic organization.¹⁷⁰ The *angchisteia* (larger family) is defined by Busolt as a legal (*familienrechtliche*) and sacred community, including those entitled to inherit, and possessing the obligations associated with burial—the cult of the dead, lamentation, and propitiation.¹⁷¹ Even Cleisthenes, the reformer, did not change the cultic character of the old phyles and phratries.

The history and typology of the Greek associations¹⁷² are of special importance to us because they developed from such diverse roots and fused into such varied types. The thiasos, a group of kindred people, originally was probably and later was undoubtedly a highly organized cult unit (*koinion ton thiasoton*). Poland minimizes unjustly the basically religious character of the thiasos.¹⁷³ Their relation to the state, however, has to be understood and interpreted as a consequence of their gentilic structure, which the Orgeones and the Therapeutai (cf. chap. v, sec. 3)

¹⁶⁴ Schrader, *RIA*, p. 774.

¹⁶⁵ Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*, chap. ix; Busolt, *Staatskunde*, pp. 728 ff., 643 ff.; Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Part II, chap. v, esp. pp. 96 ff. Cf. also Gustave Glotz, *The Greek City and Its Institutions* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930), Intro.

¹⁶⁶ Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 745.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 769.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 133 ff.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 514 ff.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 341 ff.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 955. On Cleisthenes' new order see *ibid.*, par. 93, esp. p. 879.

¹⁷² Bibliography, chap. v, sec. 2. Franz Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909) (cited hereafter as "Poland, Vereinswesen"), offers the most detailed discussion of the Greek types of associations: Orgeones, Thiasotai, Eranistai, Therapeutai, Mystai, Philoi, etc.

¹⁷³ Poland, *Vereinswesen*, pp. 16 ff. On the later thiasos type ("lebhaft Betonung des religiösen Elements", emphasis on the religious element) see *ibid.*, p. 20.

do not possess. Poland admits, however, that we have to regard them above all as cultic associations.¹⁷⁴

The foregoing examples¹⁷⁵ illustrate the close relation between the tribal and the religious organizations in the various types and stages of society.¹⁷⁶ The cohesion of the kinship group is enhanced by its cultic activity, which in turn is dependent for its greatest efficacy upon an integrated group life.

4. LOCAL CULTS

It has been shown by anthropologists that the organization and the stratification of society are not based solely on kinship,¹⁷⁷ but are also due in large measure to proximity.¹⁷⁸ A common domicile does much to unify the family group. Aristotle considers the *kome*, a village community consisting of several houses, as the "colony" of the family, the next higher sociological unit beyond it.¹⁷⁹ What Jolly says of the Hindu civilization applies certainly to many others. He states that "the state of a family living in union implies a common habitation as well as community of property, of meals, and of cultus".¹⁸⁰ Neighbouring family

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27. On other types of associations cf. below, chap. v, sec. 2. Cf. also below, sec. 7, and chap. vi, sec. 6.

¹⁷⁵ On the Roman sib, cf. "Gens" (art.), in *PWRE*, VII, 1176 ff., esp. p. 1184 (sacra), and Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Staatsaltertümer*, pp. 126 ff.: "Der gentilistische Gottesdienst". Cf. there on the *sacrorum detestatio*.

¹⁷⁶ On the peculiar "ecclesiastical tribes" among the Mongols see Owen Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria: Their Tribal Divisions, Geographical Distribution, Historical Relations, etc.* (New York: John Day Co., 1934), pp. 254 ff.

¹⁷⁷ On the relation of sociological and regional factors in general, cf. MacIver, *Society*, pp. 147 ff.; R. H. Lowie, *The Origins of the State*, chap. iv, and, with special reference to the North American Indians, A. A. Goldenweiser, "The Social Organization of the Indians of North America", *Journal of American Folklore*, XXVII, 411 ff., in correcting Morgan's one-sided emphasis on consanguinity and in following Swanton's studies. Cf. also the clear exposition by R. Thurnwald, *Economics*, chap. iv: "Settlements". Cf. Linton, *Study of Man*, chap. xiii.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Radhakamal Mukerji, *Man and his Habitation* ("Lucknow University Studies", No. XII (London: Longmans, Green, 1940)), esp. on Indian ecology; Sorokin-Zimmerman, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930-32), Vol. II, chap. xiv, and appendices.

¹⁷⁹ Busolt, *Staatskunde*, pp. 239 ff.; 954 ff., and *Griechische Altertümer*, p. 20. See there the development of the *systemata demon* with cultic centres (p. 24). Cf. also Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Vol. II, chap. vi, on the Roman *familia*. Cf. Fowler, *Religious Experience*, chap. iv, and Glotz, *The Greek City*, pp. 10 ff.; 23 ff. (on its formation and later development).

¹⁸⁰ *ERE*, V, 737. On Indian village communities and their cults see Crooke, *Popular Religion*, chaps. ii (on rural festivals) and vi; Wilber Theodore Elmore, *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism: A Study of the Local and Village Deities of Southern India*, "University of Nebraska Studies", Vol. XV (Lincoln, 1915); Rustam Pestonji Masani in *The Legacy of India*, ed. G. T. Garratt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), pp. 153 ff. Also Owen Rutter, *The Pagans of North Borneo* (London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1929), chap. iv; and Mukerji, *loc. cit.*

groups tend to develop a sense of solidarity. Lowie even finds that "the rule of residence may produce stressing of one side of the family and insofar may interfere with the bilateral symmetry of family relations".¹⁸¹ In reality, however, emphasis may shift continually from one side to the other. The development of larger forms of social organization (clan, phratry, and tribe) is also a result of common residence.¹⁸² Even so primitive a type of kinship group as the Australian¹⁸³ or Andamanese¹⁸⁴ is linked with the division and distribution of soil to form a territorial group as well. The tie which binds such local units together may vary from friendly respect without mutual obligation to the iron-bound constitutions of territorial states.

Some kindred groups own land in common.¹⁸⁵ Inhabitants of the same village often practise exogamy to indicate that they also consider themselves kindred. According to Radcliffe-Brown, this form of local exogamy is normal in Australia.¹⁸⁶ The residence of such groups might be either patrilocal or matrilocal. In West Africa, with its preference for systematic organization, we find a clearly distinguished order or hierarchy based on regional affiliation. Thus in Dahomey three different types of dwelling correspond to the various social divisions: the house in which women and children live; the compound, an aggregate of buildings whose size is indicative of social rank, with a wall in which the primary family resides; and the community dwelling which contains the extended family.¹⁸⁷ The site of the residence of the head of a sib is strictly determined by the place of origin of the group. Even in highly centralized despoties in West Africa, the village polity has retained some of its original organization. Frobenius describes the twofold religious obligation of the Yoruba family: to the clan deity and to the great tribal gods with their variety of officiating priests, the *obosha* or family priest and the *adje* or community priest.¹⁸⁸ The effect of local affinities

¹⁸¹ On patrilocal and matrilocal groups cf. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 70 ff.

¹⁸² For the linguistic evidence of identity of tribal and local settlement cf. "Dorf" (art.), in Schrader, *RIA*, p. 143, with examples of Germanic, Roman, and Slavic civilization. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 770-71, on the *bratsvo*.

¹⁸³ Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, chap. iii: "Local Organization".

¹⁸⁴ Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman*, pp. 22 ff., 29.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, pp. 321 ff., on land tenure; also Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 266 ff.

¹⁸⁶ Local exogamy is, according to Radcliffe-Brown (*Social Organization*, p. 105), normal in Australia. Cf. there the interpretation of it.

¹⁸⁷ Herskovits, *Dahomey*, pp. 137 ff., 156-57. On Polynesian regional cults see Williamson, *Religion and Social Organization*, p. 6; Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*, pp. 119 ff.

¹⁸⁸ Ludwig Frobenius, "Atlantische Götterlehre", in *Atlantis* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1926), pp. 76 ff.

on the occupational differentiation (gentilic basis) is well illustrated by Schurtz's study of higher African societies (Sudan).¹⁸⁹

As we ascend to the higher levels of civilization, we find a closer relation between religion and the emergence of larger territorial units.¹⁹⁰ Thurnwald speaks of a general tendency to extend, for a village to become a town, a town to become a state, etc. It has been said of the Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh that, in all probability, it contains "the earliest account of contact between the civilized town dwellers and the Semites of the desert. The history of the religion of the Arabian peninsula can be conceived of in terms of this contrast."¹⁹¹ Recently the development of the Hebrew religion and civilization has been re-examined in the light of an urban-rural conflict.¹⁹²

The cult of a community may be exclusive or inclusive. By that is meant that certain concepts or patterns of ritual may characterize or integrate the population of a village either in contrast to other villages or in unison with them.¹⁹³ The village of South China, whose structure has been so interestingly analysed by Kulp, may serve as an example.¹⁹⁴ We find there both types of village cults. This social and cultic unit—the village—may grow in three directions: it may develop into becoming the centre of a tribal league, as in the village federation of some American Indian tribes with their corresponding cultic symbolism;¹⁹⁵ it may extend its rule over a wider territory, thus becoming the centre of a district; or it may so increase in population or prestige that it graduates into a town.¹⁹⁶ As a district it may remain an independent territorial unit, or it may be welded into a still more extensive and powerful organization (state,

¹⁸⁹ Heinrich Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe*, pp. 57 ff.

¹⁹⁰ "Politische Entwicklung" (art.), *RLV*, X, 202; Mukerji, *Man and His Habitation*, pp. 45 ff., on "religion in aid of permanence".

¹⁹¹ Cf. Alfred Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination among the Hebrews and Other Semites* (Hodder, 1938), pp. 3 ff., 81–82.

¹⁹² Louis Finkelstein, *The Pharisees* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1938).

¹⁹³ On the Pueblo town communities and their cult cf. Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, Vol. I, chap. i.

¹⁹⁴ *Country Life in South China*, chap. x: "Religion and the Spiritual Community"; cf. also Granet, *Chinese Civilization*, pp. 175 ff., and Leong and Tao, *Village and Town in China*, chap. iii, and Robert K. Douglas, *Society in China* (2nd ed.; London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1894), p. 115; "The Village Guilds of Old Korea", *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society* (1913) (no author-name).

¹⁹⁵ James R. Murie, "Pawnee Indian Societies", *Anthropological Papers of the AMN*, XI (1916), 543 ff., esp. 550 ff.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Weber, *W. und G.*, pp. 514 ff.; J. Wach, "Stadtkult" (art.), in *RGG*, V, 744–45; Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 232 ff.; Glotz, *The Greek City*, pp. 18 ff.

empire).¹⁹⁷ This latter development is illustrated by ancient Egypt, Babylonia¹⁹⁸ (where the *patesi* was regarded as the vicar of the town-god, his wife as the god-consort, and their children as divine offspring),¹⁹⁹ India, China,²⁰⁰ Mexico,²⁰¹ and medieval and modern Europe.²⁰²

The territorial integration of Egypt in its early periods greatly affected the existing cult and worship. "Thus it certainly had its effect upon religion that some minor parts of the country developed into states, the so-called *nomes*, which usually included a city and its adjacent territory."²⁰³ This explains the local character of some of the great theological systems (Heliopolis, Memphis, etc.).²⁰⁴ Ashur, according to Olmstead,²⁰⁵ likewise began its career as a city-state, and this form of government left its traces throughout the whole history of the imperial organization. The Mexican *calpulli* never entirely lost their independence but were "loosely federated into the Aztec city-state".²⁰⁶ Five *calpulli* formed a division, and the four divisions quite possibly had religious significance. Each quarter possessed its own deity and temple. The significance of the Chinese town and cult for the political and economic history of the "country of the mean" has been studied by Weber, who stressed its lack of political rights (*Stadtrecht*, "charter") as largely differentiating it from the Western towns of the period.²⁰⁷ The role of the city, as seat of government, centre of business, harbour, and, finally, cultic nucleus in the history of

¹⁹⁷ See "Stadt" (art.), in *RLV*, XII, 374 ff., and "Market" in Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 159 ff.; Sorokin-Zimmerman, *Rural Sociology*, II, 353, with analysis of effects of urbanization on religion. On the "Orts-gott" of Egyptian towns cf. Kees, "Ägypten", pp. 318-19. On the growth of smaller territories into larger in (West) Africa see Herskovits, *Dahomey*, Vol. II, chap. xxii; Frobenius, "Götterlehre", pp. 16 ff.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. "Babylon" (art.), in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. Erich Ebeling, Vol. I (Berlin: W. de Gruyter Co., 1932), pp. 330 ff., 441.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, pp. 105 ff., 123 ff., 157 ff.

²⁰⁰ Latourette, *The Chinese*, Part I, chap. iii.

²⁰¹ J. E. Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez*, pp. 167 ff.

²⁰² James Westfall Thompson, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* (300-1300) (New York and London: Century Co., 1928), chap. xxviii, with a discussion of the numerous theories on the development of the town. Cf. also n. 211 below.

²⁰³ Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, pp. 7 ff.

²⁰⁴ An excellent monograph tracing the parallels in religious and political developments is Samuel Alfred Browne Mercer, *Horus, Royal God of Egypt* (Grafton, Mass.: Society of Oriental Research, 1942), chap. iii.

²⁰⁵ Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), chap. xli.

²⁰⁶ J. E. Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez*, chap. vi. On the league of Mayapan (the centre of the Kukulcan worship) see John Eric Thompson, *The Civilization of the Mayas* (3rd ed.; Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1936), pp. 17, 12-13.

²⁰⁷ Weber, *G.A.*, I, 276 ff., 291 ff. Cf. Leong and Tao, *Village and Town Life*, pp. 45 ff., 90 ff.

Japan has been well analysed by Takekoshi.²⁰⁸ In the Hittite Empire there were theocratically organized cities (*Gottesstädte*) in which the priests exercised considerable political control.²⁰⁹ Ramsay has studied this same phenomenon in Hellenistic and early Christian Asia Minor.²¹⁰ The development of these cities is inextricably interwoven with the growth of their respective religions.²¹¹

Some cities remain independent all through their history; others voluntarily or under compulsion make alliances with other cities and may possibly form a state. Under such conditions the city cult is rarely able to escape transformation or even dissolution. The religions of Etruscan,²¹² Assyrian, and Phoenician²¹³ city-states perished with the downfall of their towns. The Egyptian,²¹⁴ Assyrian,²¹⁵ and Hittite city cults imparted elements of doctrine and worship to the religion of their respective empires.²¹⁶ The religion of Greece developed features of a panhellenic cult without the complete sacrifice of local traditions, whereas the history of Rome presents a unique illustration of the extension of a city cult to the scope of the world-wide organization. This form of religious imperialism can be traced by following the role of the pomerium and its accompanying pantheon from the early beginnings to the late imperial days and noting their influence on the religious development of city and state.²¹⁷

²⁰⁸ Yosaburo Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1930), I, 245, 358 ff.

²⁰⁹ A. Götze, "Kleinasien", *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. III, Part III, p. 96.

²¹⁰ William Mitchell Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, Being an Essay on the Local History of Phrygia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), Vol. I, esp. chap. iii: "Hierapolis", pp. 184 ff.

²¹¹ Cf., for the influence of religion on the growth of cities, Sorokin-Zimmerman, *Rural Sociology*, I, 184-85, with extract from Henri Pirenne, *Origin of the Mediaeval Cities* (cf. below, chap. vi, n. 468).

²¹² *CAH*, IV, 411 ff.

²¹³ On the Phoenician city-states cf. "Semitische Völker" (art.), in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, Vol. I, par. 24; Wallace Bruce Fleming, *The History of Tyre* ("Columbia University Oriental Studies", Vol. X (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915)), esp. chap. xiii; Frederick Carl Eiselen, *Sidon: A Study in Oriental History* ("Columbia University Oriental Studies", Vol. IV (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907)), esp. chap. iv.

²¹⁴ The rather complicated process of organization and unification of cults in ancient Egypt has, on the basis of more recent studies, been well traced by Kees, "Ägypten", pp. 317 ff.

²¹⁵ Cf. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, chap. xli: "The Imperial Free City", and *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I (1932), 228 ff.

²¹⁶ On Jerusalem see Albrecht Alt, "Jerusalems Aufstieg", *ZDMG*, Vol. LXXIX (1925). On the importance of the development of the cities in Palestine cf. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, pp. 34 ff., 23 ff., and Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity*, chap. iii and iv.

²¹⁷ Cf. Franz Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion* (London: Methuen & Co., 1938), and his corrections of the traditional views of the development of the pantheon (Greek-Etruscan imports).

As the centres develop in size and in importance, the political metropolis need not remain the cultic capital. New religious impulses may cause a shift to other localities. In other cases the old town may retain its religious prestige, but is divested of its political importance. Examples of the former occur in the establishment of sacred places by Buddhism and Confucianism and of the latter in the role played by Ise and Kyoto in Japan; Benares, Allahabad, and Amritsar in India;²¹⁸ Hebron, Shechem, and Mizpah in Israel; Mecca-Medina and Kairowan in Islam; Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes in Egypt;²¹⁹ Chichen Itza in Yucatán; Cholula in Mexico; Cuzco in Peru; and Delphi in Greece. It is possible in the course of their historic development for sacred places to succumb to foreign domination and yet preserve their prestige and importance as places of pilgrimage.²²⁰ Thus we hear of two sacred hills of the Chibcha (Colombia) situated in what is now alien territory. "Thither the Chibcha would make secret pilgrimages by night to perform certain rites even at the risk of being killed by the hostile Muzo."²²¹ Similarly, holy places of Judaism and Christianity fell at times into the hands of "unbelievers", and in India some Buddhist sacred places are in Hindu or Hindu places in Mohammedan possession.

Clan and tribal organization are not abandoned with the growth of cities, although the city fellowships, being more comprehensive than the traditional kin group, may be far stronger. Greece, China and Japan, India, and Mexico had urban communities whose unity was emphasized through rites such as common meals, festivities, and lustrations. Many cities had their own protective deities, ceremonies, and sanctuaries.²²² As the city grows, a process of stratification takes place which is determined by occupation, domicile, property, and rank and which has its effect on religious attitudes and forms. The plan of settlement of the African,²²³ Peruvian,²²⁴ Mexican, Chinese, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman cities clearly reflects the early pattern of family, clan, phratries, and tribes. Indian cities were often fashioned in

²¹⁸ On the *tirtha* (holy places) in India cf. *Legacy of India*, pp. 153 ff.

²¹⁹ Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, p. 138; Kees, "Ägypten", pp. 321 ff.

²²⁰ On the development of the market and certain monopolies connected with it, owing to pilgrimages, cf. Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 159 ff.

²²¹ Joyce, *South American Archaeology*, p. 10.

²²² Cf. Mukerji, *Man and His Habitation*, pp. 174 ff., 223 (function of religion in integration of the town people).

²²³ On the division of the Dahomean village cf. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, II, 4.

²²⁴ Cf. the division of Cuzco, the capital of imperial Peru, according to moieties (MacLeod, *Origin and History of Politics*, pp. 218-19).

the form of the body of the gods Vishnu or Garuda or the sacred lotus.²²⁵ As another example we might mention the Mexican *calpulli* (twenty of them at the time of the conquest), which were said to have been exogamous, but, according to Thompson, "by the time of the Aztec collapse the *calpulli* functioned more as a geographical organization than as one based on kinship. They were comparatively autonomous." Each *calpulli* also possessed its own temple and its own patron god, corresponding to the patron saint of the European parish.²²⁶

Small units frequently retain a relative degree of independence and often are privileged to manage their own affairs without excessive interference by the central authority. They also may continue to function as religious units in spite of the competition from the city cults. In imperial China, according to Grube, the town-gods (Cheng Hoang-ye, "father of the walls") enjoyed a highly organized and popular cult.²²⁷ Frequently a divinized mandarin served as a protective deity. These deities were organized into a hierarchy according to the size, importance, and rank of the city which they represented. A walled city was on a much higher level than the larger unwallled village. The town-god was the official book-keeper and gave regular reports on each city to the deities of heaven and hell. The statue of the town-god rested imposingly in his sanctuary surrounded by his assistants, notably the official spy, Pai-tou-tieh, the "little father with the tablet". The god and his family have a bedroom in the form of a completely furnished apartment in the temple. Grube tells us that the cult of the town-god has steadily increased in popularity especially since the first Ming emperor at the end of the fourteenth century. During this period higher officials visiting a town were required to spend the first night in the sanctuary of the town-god. Elaborate ceremonies took place, particularly on the birthday of the divine protector. Amulets and other objects were consecrated with his seal, which was under the guardianship of the prefect of the town. In periods of drought the unfortunate prefect with his officials were responsible for the effective propitiation of the angry god. On all important occasions, such as the mobilization of the army for war, assembling of the council

²²⁵ Mukerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 235 ff., 249, on religious symbolism in village and city planning.

²²⁶ Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez*, pp. 105 ff.; Vaillant, *The Aztecs*, chap. vi.

²²⁷ Grube, *Religion und Kultur der Chinesen*; Granet, *Chinese Civilization*, pp. 237 ff. On the interesting division of the Korean capital and its ancient antecedents, cf. MacLeod, *Origin and History of Politics*, pp. 220-21.

for momentous decisions, and for solemn celebrations and feasts, the old town-god was present in his full glory.²²⁸

The deities of special clans and families in Greece were carried over into the reorganized city cult.²²⁹ The necessary adjustments in carrying out the merger were made by the invention of appropriate legends and by the introduction of appropriate rites, forms of organization, and functionaries. A cult of the founder of the city (*theos polieus*)²³⁰ might be set up. Ceremonies accompanied admission to full citizenship, just as in the older kinship groups. The young Greek was presented for citizenship at the age of sixteen or eighteen.²³¹ "On that day in the presence of the altar, and before the smoking flesh of a victim, he pronounces an oath, by which he binds himself, among other things, always to respect the religion of the city. From that day he is initiated into the public worship and becomes a citizen."²³²

A typical stage in the growth of local cults is represented by the amphictyony. Tribal or local groups would settle near a sanctuary like Delphi, recognize its authority, and pledge themselves to guard and protect it. Such leagues were formed about the sanctuary of Poseidon, at Onchestos and Kalauria, and the temple of Apollo at Delos and Pythos.²³³ Twice a year a council (*synedrion*) of two representatives of each tribe (*hieromnemes*), probably appointed for one-year terms, prepared suitable festivals. This institution has its parallels in the South Sea islands²³⁴ and among the Maya.²³⁵ The cultic significance of the league of Etruscan cities is likewise worthy of mention.²³⁶ Recently, Old Testament scholars have found a similar institution in ancient Israel.²³⁷

²²⁸ Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

²²⁹ Cf. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, chap. vii: "The Civic Religion".

²³⁰ Hero cult, ancestor cult, and founder cult were frequently closely connected (*ibid.*, pp. 298 ff.). Cf. Lewis Richard Farnell, *Greek Hero-Cults and Ideas of Immortality* ("Gifford Lectures" (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921)), chap. iv; Otto Kern, *Griechische Kultelegenden* (AR, Vol. XXVI (1928)), pp. 1 ff.

²³¹ Cf. below, sec. 7, on age groups.

²³² Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*, p. 170; cf. Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, II, 96 ff.

²³³ Busolt, *Staatskunde*, pp. 1280 ff. Sanctuaries of Dorian and Ionian institutions: *ibid.*, pp. 1281-82; "Delphi" (art.) in *PWRE*, IV, 2517 ff., and Suppl.

²³⁴ Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia*. Cf. also Henry, *Tahiti*, on national *marae* (sanctuaries), pp. 119 ff.; and Buck, *Anthropology*, pp. 35 ff.

²³⁵ J. E. Thompson, *Civilization of the Mayas*, pp. 12-13, 17-18.

²³⁶ On the central sanctuary of Voltumna, the election of a high priest of the twelve (later, fifteen) Etruscan cities' league and its history, see R. S. Conway, "Italy in the Etruscan Age", *CAH*, Vol. IV, chap. xii, p. 412.

²³⁷ Cf. Weber, *G.A.* III, 90 ff.; Albrecht Alt, *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina* (Leipzig: A. Edelmann, 1930), p. 11; Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

Although the boundaries of ecclesiastical and socio-political divisions have coincided in many of the great empires, such identity of political and religious organization is not at all an inescapable necessity.²³⁸ It is true that many a province of the late Roman, Byzantine, or Western medieval empire was identical with a metropolitan district of the church. But just as frequently we find political centralization existing alongside of regular and special worship at ancient shrines and special rites such as pilgrimages and festivals connected with places of hoary prestige and tradition.

The extension of territorial units to what we call a country has a corresponding effect on the religion of the region. "Country" and "state" are not necessarily identical. The former is, above all, a geographical but not necessarily an administrative unit. The phenomenon of the state will be discussed in another context, inasmuch as the concept of the state includes by definition not only a territory but also a people and a government. A country may or may not be also a religious unit. It may have grown gradually from smaller units, such as districts or cities, into a more extensive geographical and political unit, or it might have been created arbitrarily by an outside power. Its religion may be the traditional one of the original nucleus, grown to dominate the country, or it may be a deliberately devised and gradually developed synthesis of various religious institutions in the country. The Maya, Peruvian, Mexican, Chinese, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian religions are examples of the first. The religions of Akbar²³⁹ and Ikhnaton²⁴⁰ and some late Roman emperors exemplify the second. The relations of the great universal religions to the territorial and political centres in their realms is the subject of another chapter (cf. below, chap. vii).

5. RACIAL CULTS

Before we can deal with that most complex of all social structures, the state, we must clarify some concepts which have heretofore suffered from lack of precise definition. As sociologists we are interested in the relation of all forms of society,

²³⁸ The economic parallels to the political centralization are illustrated by Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 99 ff.

²³⁹ "Akbar" (art.), *EI*, I, 228-29; cf. Murray Thurston Titus, *Indian Islam: A Religious History of Islam in India* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1930) (cited hereafter as "Titus, *Indian Islam*"), pp. 157 ff.; Sir Laurence Binyon, *Akbar* (Peter Davies, 1932).

²⁴⁰ Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, chap. viii.

such as family, clan, race, people, or nation, with religion. The first problem which confronts us now is one which, because of recent political developments, has gained a popularity out of proportion to its scientific importance. I refer to the much-mooted word "race",²⁴¹ a term so sunk in the morass of confusion and ambiguity even among more serious scholars²⁴² that one might question the advisability at this stage of using it at all or attempting to define its relation to religion.²⁴³

The study of race has its origin in biology and anthropology and still has its legitimate home in these sciences.²⁴⁴ It has, however, invaded the various natural and social sciences and has recently forced its way into the study of religion.²⁴⁵ Assuming that it is possible to classify man on the basis of physical criteria into racial types, are we in a position to establish any relation between his racial constitution, on the one hand, and his mental and emotional life or his spiritual attitudes, on the other? And, if there is such a relationship, in what way is the mental or emotional quality affected by the racial factor, and is this relationship so definite and definable that a given set of thoughts or attitudes would suggest immediately a particular racial type as its only possible "origin"? If the aforesaid questions can be answered in the affirmative, a third would immediately suggest itself. Are these psychological types constant, or are they subject to change in the course of time?²⁴⁶ Which factors, heredity or environment, would be more potent in causing such changes?²⁴⁷ Definite answers to these questions have not as yet been forthcoming, but it is in any case generally agreed that the conception of racial

²⁴¹ For the derivation of the word "race" from the Arabic *ra's*, "head", cf. Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, ed. Alfred Götze (11th ed.; Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1934), p. 470.

²⁴² For a reasonable discussion of the major problems involved and a criticism of contemporary literature cf. Christel Mathias Schröder, *Rasse und Religion: Eine rassen- und religionswissenschaftliche Untersuchung* (München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1937); H. S. Jennings *et al.*, *Scientific Aspects of the Race Problem* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941) (cited hereafter as "Jennings, *Scientific Aspects*"). Bibliography in "Race-Conflict" (art.), in *ESS*, Vol. XIII. For a classification of the races and their geographical distribution cf. Eugene Pittard, *Race and History: An Ethnological Introduction to History* (Kegan Paul, 1926).

²⁴³ Cf. "Race" (art.), in *ESS*, XIII, 25 ff., and Schröder, *op. cit.*; Louis Leo Snyder, *Race: A History of Modern Ethnic Theories* (New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939).

²⁴⁴ Cf. Alfred Cook Haddon, *History of Anthropology* (London: Watts & Co., 1934). On the main categories of somatic differentiation cf. Snyder, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff.

²⁴⁵ Cf. the list of the most important French and German publications in Schröder, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

²⁴⁶ C. A. Berger, "Human Psychological Inheritance", in Jennings, *Scientific Aspects*, pp. 77 ff.

²⁴⁷ Snyder, *op. cit.*, chap. ii: "Race and History".

types, even though buttressed by empirical studies, must always mean the outlining of "ideal" types, hypothetical categories without existential reality, for actually we find only mixed races. No scholar of note would assert the existence to-day of pure, or even approximately pure, races. According to Haddon, "it is very doubtful whether there are at the present time any races that can be termed 'pure', though a few peoples, such as the Andamanese, the Bushmen, or the jungle Vedda, appear to be practically unmixed".²⁴⁸

Obviously the relations between physical or, if they should exist, psychophysical types, on one side, and any form of expression of religious experience, on the other, are ethereal to the vanishing point. Recent comparative studies of Indo-European ("Aryan") and Semitic religions²⁴⁹ have shown the utter impossibility of correlating known spiritual patterns with physical types as defined by the racial theorists. The sociologist will, therefore, have to be very cautious in adopting the results of the studies in this field. He might gather material to trace whatever identifiable spiritual or intellectual unity exists in a racially integrated unit. The family or the local group or the nation are visible and concrete phenomena integrated by a sense of solidarity, which is not in the same sense true of a race. Modern ideologies like the Pan-Mongolian, Pan-Turanian,²⁵⁰ and Pan-Aryan²⁵¹ have been developed with a view to fostering race consciousness. They do not mean so much to appeal to an actual, integrated unit as to serve as an instrument in creating one.²⁵² However, we are here not at all concerned with the normative aspect of the problem.²⁵³

Isolation of the race factor is often difficult if not impossible. The American Negro, for instance, has developed quite inde-

²⁴⁸ Alfred Cook Haddon, *The Races of Man and Their Distribution* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), pp. 2-3; cf. also Snyder, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff., and Aleš Hrdlička, "The Races of Man", in Jennings, *Scientific Aspects*, pp. 159 ff., esp. 165 ff.

²⁴⁹ Schröder, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 ff., esp. 250 ff.

²⁵⁰ Richard Hartmann, "Zur Goek-Alpen-Grundlagen des türkischen Nationalismus", *Orientalische Literatur Zeitung* (Leipzig: Harassowitz, 1925), pp. 578 ff.; R. Hartmann, "Ergeneqon", *Festschrift für Georg Jacob*, ed. Th. Menzel (Leipzig: Otto Harassowitz, 1932), pp. 68 ff.

²⁵¹ Cf. the section on "Race and the Pan-Movements" in Snyder, *op. cit.*, pp. 258 ff.

²⁵² An excellent discussion of the question of the evaluation of the different races by R. Lowie, "Intellectual and Cultural Achievements of Human Races", in Jennings, *Scientific Aspects*, pp. 189 ff.

²⁵³ For the German distinction between *Rassenkunde* and *Rassenlehre*, the former being a descriptive, the second a normative discipline, cf. von Eickstedt's definition in Schröder, *op. cit.*, p. 2. On the Indo-Germanic problem see the bibliography in *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch* and in *Germanen und Indogermanen: Volkstum, Heimat, Sprache, Kultur: Festschrift für Herman Hirt*, ed. Helmuth Anz (Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1936). On "comparative morality" with respect to races cf. Lowie, "Intellectual Achievements", in Jennings, *Scientific Aspects*, pp. 226 ff.

pendently of the African Negro, and the study of the American Negro religion ²⁵⁴ involves an issue much broader than just a racial question. This does not mean to cast reflection on the profitability of inquiries into the cultural and religious heritage of American Negroes and their similarities with and differences from their racial brothers the African Negroes. Studies such as these have been made successfully by Wetherford, Herskovits, and others.²⁵⁵ We will take this problem up later on (chap. vi, nn. 258 ff.).

It has been suggested that the entire history of religion be re-written along racial lines. Such a venture, however, might eventually lead to the one-sidedness characteristic of the doctrines of the class struggle and the psychoanalytic theory, which both generalized particular viewpoints and turned them into dogmas. Our interest here is solely on the question: Have racial units, as such, influenced the development of religion?

All peoples revealed in history have appeared racially mixed. Hypotheses regarding the origins of various races as yet remain assumptions. Estimates of the length of time necessary for the development of our historic races vary. Linguistics and archaeology furnish our only tools for reconstructing a picture of the original "Aryans", "Semites", or "Mongols".²⁵⁶ The religious culture of these racial nuclei can at best be characterized negatively and then only in general terms. We know deplorably little of the religion of the Indo-Europeans before the split.²⁵⁷ The various subgroups which resulted were so deeply influenced by their new environment and by their respective historic destinies that their differences far outweigh the strands of similarity.²⁵⁸ The most obvious examples are the religions of the Iranian and Indian Aryans.²⁵⁹ The similarities in some of their conceptions and

²⁵⁴ On American Negro religion cf., for the historical side, Carter Goodwin Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (2nd ed.; Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1921); for the systematical and statistical side, Benjamin Elijah Mays and Joseph William Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933); cf. also Niebuhr, *Sources of Denominationalism*, chap. ix; and below, chap. vi, sec. 12, nn. 525 ff.

²⁵⁵ Willis Duke Wetherford, *The Negro from Africa to America* (New York: George H. Doran & Co., 1924); Melville Jean Herskovits, *The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1928); *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1941).

²⁵⁶ Cf. the racial analysis of Japanese mythology by Karl Florenz, "Die Japaner", in *Chantepie, Lehrbuch*, I, 269 ff.

²⁵⁷ Cf. R. M. Meyer, *Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1910), chap. v; also particularly Wilhelm Koppers, "Die Religion der Indogermanen" in *Anthropos*, XXIV (1929), 1073 ff., and also Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, "Religionsgeschichte und Indogermanen Problem", in *Festschrift für H. Hirt*, p. 177, emphasizing that only general features ("Grundzüge", p. 181) can be identified.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Schröder, *Rasse und Religion*, pp. 252 ff.

²⁵⁹ For the history of term and concept see Snyder, *Race*, chap. iv.

institutions are relatively insignificant compared to their great differences. Hauer, who might be considered to be a moderate exponent of the belief in an Indo-Germanic religion with more or less clearly distinguishable features,²⁶⁰ enumerates the following essential marks: an emphasis upon mystic and philosophical experiences; a conservative and universalist attitude; a concept of specific qualities peculiar to ethnic types of constitution (*Artgemässheit*); a tendency towards impersonal conceptions of the absolute; the idea of intimate communion with the deity on more or less equal terms; a positive attitude towards the world, with special emphasis on the ideas of light, infinity, and the cosmic order; and, finally, a specifically "heroic" attitude towards fate and death as the expression of a characteristic view of man (anthropology), based upon the premise of his essentially divine nature.²⁶¹ It is not difficult to show that none of these features is exclusively Indo-Germanic. Hauer meets this objection with the argument that the real evidence for his claim is not found in the elements common to all religions but in the specific differences which are unique with the Indo-Germanic group.²⁶² In answer to Hauer it can be demonstrated that the alleged unique Indo-Germanic characteristics, such as the mystical attitude towards nature, the recognition of ethnic peculiarities, impersonal concepts of the relations between God and man, and the idea of a cosmic, moral, and ritual law, have their counterpart in other religions which only the most ignorant would fail to detect. It is significant that Hauer obtained his unique characteristics by contrasting them with Semitic religions, the description of which, with him, as with other racists, is oversimplified, if not falsified. It would have been more instructive, if less effective, had he compared Mongolian and Turanian conceptions. In addition, Hauer has difficulty in determining the nature of Indo-Germanic and Semitic "dualism".²⁶³ As a matter of fact, differences in mythology, theology, worship, and religious organization are as great among the Semites themselves²⁶⁴ as

²⁶⁰ Of the various expressions of the changing views of Hauer, only his paper in the *Festschrift für Hirt* ("Religionsgeschichte und Indogermanen Problem") will be discussed here.

²⁶¹ Hauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 387 ff.; cf. also his art., "Religion und Rasse", *ARW*, XXXIV (1937), 81 ff.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-89.

²⁶⁴ Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 6 ff., who stresses their relative homogeneity (p. 8), owing to the fact that they have never been so far dispersed as the Indo-Germanic peoples.

they are between the Semites and the Indo-Germanics.²⁶⁵ The unique development of the religion of Israel is without parallel, and again in Mohammedanism we find features completely absent in other Semitic religions.²⁶⁶ To explain them away as borrowed (why were they borrowed, and how could they, if completely "alien", be "borrowed"?) is just as futile as to evade the issue by classifying Islam as a Jewish sect because they have common elements.²⁶⁷ Later Islam is, as we shall see further on, as complex an institution as some of the later mixed forms of Teutonic religion regarded by some racists as the climax of "Aryan" faith.

6. NATIONAL CULTS

Every kindred social unit is usually characterized by some degree of consciousness of common history and tradition. A larger group of this nature is referred to as a people or as a nationality (folk, *Volk*). The claim to common ancestry which is made by these groups may or may not be justified. The Greeks, Japanese, Hebrews, and English—each of these peoples regards itself as being of one stock, but it is well known that not racial homogeneity but common experiences and destiny were, in each case, the unifying factors. Territorial attachment is not essential to a folk group. There are peoples without permanent settlement in north-eastern Africa and in Asia, although communal settlement usually marks the most important stage in the development of a people.²⁶⁸ The religion of a folk unit will be either a loosely connected amalgam of tribal cults with one tribe dominating or a synthetic form of worship created *ad hoc*. Israel is a particularly interesting example because the most decisive factor in its formation was the common worship of Yahweh.²⁶⁹ Common beliefs and common rites maintained the national existence of this

²⁶⁵ Cf. also the example of the pagan and Buddhist Mongols which R. Lowie quotes in Jennings, *Scientific Aspects*, p. 235.

²⁶⁶ Cf. on the universal character of Islam and reactions against it (Persian anti-Arab expressions): Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ed. A. J. Wensinck (Bonn: K. Schröder, 1923 ff.), I, 413 ff.: "L'Islam et le problème des races".

²⁶⁷ Schröder, *Rasse und Religion*, pp. 266 ff.; Hauer, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

²⁶⁸ Cf. R. Thurnwald, "Polit. Entwicklung" (art.), in *RLV*, X, 200-201; Lowie, *Origin of the State*, chap. iv.

²⁶⁹ Lods, *Israel*, esp. chap. iv: "The Religious Life of the Nation"; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, 219 ff. ("Nationality and Universality"); Robert Travers Herford, "The Influence of Judaism upon Jews", in *The Legacy of Israel* (1927), pp. 97 ff.; Causse, *Groupe ethnique*, Part III.

people long after its land had been lost. Pedersen, in discussing the emergence of the Hebrews as people, significantly points to the threefold meaning of the word *‘am* in Hebrew; it is the word for “people” and refers to the family, the kinship group, and the nation. The words *kahal* and *edah*, both also denoting “people”, are also used to signify occasional meetings as for worship purposes. Pedersen states: “The unity of Israel depends on kinship, the community of souls arising out of a common character and a common history, and it is expressed by dating the people back to a common ancestor.” It is suggestive that, contrary to developments in other nations, the religious unity of this people was never seriously menaced once it had been unified. From the time that tribal cults were replaced by a centralized form of worship, the central orientation of the Jews was changed from the physical realm to the spiritual sphere—a fact which provides the key to the understanding of the miraculous survival of the Jews to-day.²⁷⁰

In Greece the course of history moved quite differently. In spite of events like the Persian wars, which helped to promote a united effort, the intransigence of local feeling and cantonal differences prevented the complete integration of the Greeks into one people. The separate cults of the various cities flourished until the very end, notwithstanding the weakening of the traditional faith (decay of mythology and cultus). The only rudiments of a panhellenic religion appeared in its games, contests, etc.²⁷¹

The Teutons, somewhat like the Jews, formed peoples not necessarily bound by territorial attachment or actual common descent but by history and tradition, manifesting this unity by their assemblies and general co-operative activities in peace and in war. Thus they could be defined by Gierke²⁷² as a moral and religious community with national priesthood and cult.²⁷³ These peoples (*Völkerschaften*) were, indeed, cultic units.²⁷⁴ Their assemblies were protected by their gods, whom they worshipped with offerings. Only at a later period did some of the Germanic

²⁷⁰ Cf. Max Weber, *G.A.*, III, 352 ff., and Baron, *History of the Jews*, esp. chap. i: “Jewish Society and Religion; Emancipation from State and Territory”.

²⁷¹ Busolt, *Staatskunde*, pp. 1280 ff. Cf. also “Koinon” (art.), in *PWRE*, Suppl. IV, pp. 914 ff., sec. 3.

²⁷² Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, I, 28 ff., 33. Cf. also “Volk” (art.), in Schrader’s *RIA*, p. 920.

²⁷³ “Though the memory of common descent lived on in tradition, it determined the organization of the group” (Gierke, *op. cit.*, p. 29).

²⁷⁴ Karl Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1913), chap. xii: “Stammeskulte und Kultverbände”, esp. pp. 325–26; cf. also Pierre D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, trans. Bert. J. Voss (Boston and London: Ginn & Co., 1902), pp. 365 ff.

peoples unite as nations, a development which was greatly influenced by their acceptance of Christianity.²⁷⁵

As we have previously noted, the term "people" does not necessarily imply political unity as does that of the state. The integration of a people, we found, may be effected through kinship, tradition, language, culture, or religion, singly or in combination. In addition, the people might have a particular form of government characterizing and differentiating it. We thus discriminate between *nationality* and *nation*—one signifying a people and the other a state. The Germans and the Swiss are different nations, but they are partly of the same folkdom. There were formerly many German states, yet their subjects were predominantly of one nationality. Uncritical terminology has often made synonyms of these three terms, but that is not advisable. The term "state" should be reserved to denote political and territorial units invested with sovereign rights. (Cf. below, chap. vii.)

A nationality, as we have seen, is not necessarily a religious unit, though in less complex civilizations it often is. We also noted that common cult does, in turn, much to foster integration of a people. Some historians wonder whether common worship has everywhere initiated national unity, or whether the cult was merely the natural and incidental expression of group experience. The former was, no doubt, frequently the case, and we have explained previously why we do not accept the second theory. As many religions developed out of one as a result of the diversity of religious experiences within a nation, so conflicts arose which became more and more bitter with increased social and political differentiation. We shall trace this problem in fuller detail when discussing the relation of church to state (chap. vii).

There are several sources of conflict between national and religious leaders. One lies in personal ambition and jealousy of religious and "secular" authorities and the other in the struggle between rival principles of which one or both may tend to claim supremacy; the latter, however, occurs infrequently in less complex society. Few religions tend expressly to deify the national group as the Comte-Durkheim hypothesis of the identity of subject and object of worship would suggest.²⁷⁶ To a certain

²⁷⁵ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937 ff.), Vol. II, chap. ii. Cf. the excellent exposition by Ernest Barker, *Church, State, Study* (London: Methuen & Co., 1930), chap. v: "Christianity and Nationality".

²⁷⁶ Cf. the stimulating comparative study by Farnell, *The Attributes of God*, chap. vi: "The Political Attributes".

extent the cult of the Assyrian god Ashur falls within this category. In Assyria "God, city, nation all bore the same name and were closely united".²⁷⁷ The worship of Ashur spread with the expanding borders of the conquering nation, but its original home in the national capital always remained its own headquarters. It is significant that Ashur, though only one of a number of Semitic deities worshipped by the Assyrians, was the only purely Assyrian god.²⁷⁸

If we compare the development of the Hebrew religion to that of the Assyrians, we notice a decisive difference. Yahweh certainly has in the earlier stages of his cult an exclusive, national character. Yet the profundity of the Hebrew idea of the deity as far removed from men precluded too hasty an identification of God and people as some find it in certain passages of the Old Testament. The existence of other gods of other peoples was tacitly or explicitly admitted, but the prophetic interpretation widened the concept of Yahweh into the notion of universal deity (Jeremiah), just as it deepened it in emphasizing its spiritual nature. Intimate as the relation of the Hebrew people to their God is, no identification of one with the other is conceivable.

Ideas of nationality and deity are intertwined in the Roman concept of the *genius populi Romani*, worshipped by the community, as the *genius patris familias* was in the home. The former, which, according to Wissowa,²⁷⁹ was personal in origin and only later acquired local significance (*genius collegii, scholae, loci*, etc.), never was as clearly outlined as the *genius* of the individual house-father. Originally, it lacked even sex. Since the third century we hear of public sacrifices and later of games in his honour. The people lived in his *tutela* and he was its *comes*.²⁸⁰

As time elapsed, many of the great national religions in history have perished. Others survived, but with changes and reconstruction. An interesting example of a religion preserving its original character with but minor transformation is Shinto. We have recently become much better acquainted with this national

²⁷⁷ Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 673. The exclusion of any foreigners' cultic activity by penalty of death is reported of the Hittites by Alfred Götze, "Kleinasien", in *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. III, ed. W. Otto (München, C. H. Beck, 1933)), p. 159.

²⁷⁸ Olmstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68. Cf. also Julian Morgenstern, "Universalism in Judaism" in *Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia*, X, 353 ff.

²⁷⁹ Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer*, pp. 157-58. Cf. also Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, pp. 17 ff., and Harold Mattingly, "The Roman Virtues", *HTHR*, XXX (1937), 103 ff.

²⁸⁰ *PWRE*, VII, 1155. Cf. there on the *genius urbis Romae* and other cities, pp. 1167-68, and Altheim, *History of Roman Religion*, pp. 467 ff.

cult of the Japanese.²⁸¹ None of the great foreign cults introduced into the Nipponese empire could eradicate it completely.²⁸² After Buddhism was introduced,²⁸³ Shinto absorbed a great deal of it, and Ryobu Shinto, the resultant blend, remained for centuries a powerful integrating factor in Japanese life²⁸⁴ until the Meiji restoration of 1868²⁸⁵ reinstated a purified Shinto as the state religion. Even now the debate over the separation between state and private Shinto is not settled.²⁸⁶ Shinto is one of the most impressive examples of the quasi-identification of a people or nationality with deities considered to be its representatives (ancestors). Though Amaterasu, the great goddess of the sun, offspring of heaven and earth, is not identical with the "genius of the Japanese people", her function is similar to that of the Roman *genius populi Romani* i.e. to represent and to integrate her worshippers, the Japanese. This explains the otherwise incomprehensible fact that, in spite of struggle and strife throughout all the centuries, this goddess remains, in the words of a well-known student of Shinto, "the centre of the loyalty and the patriotism that bind the nation about the throne". She is the "representative of the ideal cohesion of the state and the emblem of the esprit de corps of the nation".²⁸⁷ Loyalty of the people to the descendants of Jimmu Tenno, the first emperor, and through them to Amaterasu and Ninigi, was never to be questioned.²⁸⁸ Worship of imperial ancestors was an essential feature of the rites, and its meticulous performance guaranteed the continued existence and welfare of the nation. The *shintai*, or emblems (sword, jewel, mirror), of the sun-goddess are symbols of national unity.²⁸⁹

²⁸¹ The best modern presentation is Daniel Clarence Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan: A Study in Modern Shinto* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1938) (cited hereafter as "Holtom, *Faith of Japan*"); also his *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

²⁸² On the epochs of Japanese history of religion cf. Mahasaru Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930).

²⁸³ Marinus Willem de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sutras and Ceremonies in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Century* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1935).

²⁸⁴ Sir Charles Norton Edgecombe Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (London: E. Arnold & Co., 1935). Cf. also below, chap. v; J. T. Addison, "Religious Life in Japan", *HTHR*, Vol. XVIII (1925); "Revival of Buddhism", *ibid.*, pp. 33 ff. (valuable bibliography, pp. 351 ff.).

²⁸⁵ Anesaki, *op. cit.*, Book VI; Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, chap. iv. Cf. below, chap. vii, nn. 80 ff.

²⁸⁶ D. C. Holtom, "State Shinto and Religion", *IRM*, XXVII (1938), 158 ff.

²⁸⁷ Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, pp. 123 ff.; the Japanese term for "government", according to Hozumi (*Ancestor-Worship*, p. 71), is "affairs of worship" (*matsuri-goto*). Cf. there on the official state rites.

²⁸⁸ Cf. the quotations from the Japanese constitution and other official documents in Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, pp. 77 ff. Cf. also *ibid.*, chap. ix.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. x; Hozumi, *Ancestor-Worship*, esp. pp. 33 ff. (festivals), 50 ff.

Shinto mythology, including theogony and cosmogony, blends smoothly into history, and its sacred tradition thus presents a unified pattern of past and present.²⁹⁰ Although originally the early chieftains who descended from the sun represented only one of the racial strains which now compose the Japanese nation, the ideology of this group soon became the cult of all Japan, and the great tribal deities soon were the primary elements among the innumerable *kami* (spirits), of whom Amaterasu is "the mightiest of the *kami*".²⁹¹ To quote a leading student of Shinto: "Dynastic interests were quick to make the most of the uniqueness and majesty deriving from claims for the descent of the Imperial Line from a solar ancestry. By the sixth century of the Western era an imperial solar ancestralism had become the paramount motive in the Yamato state worship. Its influence was widened with the passing centuries until to-day it constitutes the predominant interest of all Shinto."²⁹² It is readily intelligible that, among the principal figures of the long line of rulers of Japan, only three became objects of special worship; they are emperors under whom "noteworthy unification and progress has been consummated in national life" (Jimmu, Kwammu, and Meiji Tenno). So the paradox becomes understandable that a people so proud of its national tradition and heritage and so conscious of a divine mandate and mission with which it fancies itself entrusted by the deity lacks the concept of a paramount divine incarnation of its national character and virtue—an analogy to the Nordic Thor, the Ashur of Nineveh, or the Mexican Huitzilopochtli.

The onus for the surprising fact that Shinto failed to produce a more central figure of a god of war²⁹³ has been laid to the prominence of the tribal and local deities. Because of the importance of the military in the consolidation and expansion of the empire, local war-gods enjoyed a prominence out of proportion to their purely religious significance.²⁹⁴

7. CULT ASSOCIATIONS BASED ON SEX AND AGE

We have until now discussed three types of social grouping in their relation to religion: the kinship group, the local group, and a larger type of group which includes people of actual or fictitious

²⁹⁰ Cf. Florenz, "Japan", in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, I, 263 ff.

²⁹¹ Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, p. 138; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 171 ff.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 26; *Modern Japan*, chaps. i-iii. Cf. Florenz, *op. cit.*

²⁹³ Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, p. 175.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

common descent and with common tradition and culture. Now we turn to a fourth type of grouping the bases of which are still natural ties. Associations according to sex and age have to be examined now as to their religious significance. Their study has become popular among anthropologists since the epoch-making monographs of Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, of Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, and of Wissler and Lowie, *Plains Indians Age Societies*.²⁹⁵ The study of ancient classical cultures, anthropology, and philology have also yielded interesting material pertaining to this type of association.

An association founded on the basis of natural affinity is different in principle from that which is formed for practical or ideal purposes. People of the same age and of the same sex will quite naturally congregate and form, without any definite purpose, loosely or more closely knit groups. Even if it is a far cry from such small intimate groups to the institution of the age group which we find in so many societies, they are of the same kind, based on natural ties. Even on the scale of the more intimate group we find spontaneously growing ones, developing from casual being together, and consciously founded ones, created by individuals or by the authorities to foster cohesion among an age class or group. To the extent, however, that definite purposes are included in the "programme" of such an association or creep into what originally were meant to be gatherings of people on a purely natural basis, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between them and another type of association, founded expressly for the purpose of fostering common material or ideal interests, irrespective of natural bonds.

Let us now discuss associations based on natural ties such as sex and age. The smallest group of this nature would comprise two or, at best, a small number of individuals with some natural affinity such as age. Friendship has no "purpose", but is based on likeness. Our knowledge of the sociology of friendship certainly leaves room for much study. One of the first anthropologists to call attention to its sociological significance was Herskovits,

²⁹⁵ *Societies of the Plains Indians*, ed. Clark Wissler ("Anthropological Papers of AMNH", Vol. XI (1916)) (cited hereafter as "Wissler, *Societies of Plains Indians*"), pp. 877 ff. Cf. also Butt-Thompson, *Secret Societies*. Besides the above-mentioned, other studies dealing with associations are: Thurnwald in various articles in *RVG* ("Altersklassen", "Jugendbünde"); Lowie, in *The Origin of the State*, chap. v (dealing with their political significance in primitive society, pp. 313 ff.), and in "Age Societies" (art.), in *ESS*, I, 482 ff.; Ralph Linton, "A Neglected Aspect of Social Organization", *AJS*, XLV (1939-40), 870 ff. (age and sex groups of the Tanala and Comanche). Cf. also Cecil Claire North, *Social Differentiation* ("University of North Carolina Social Study Series" (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926)), Part II.

who states in his monograph on Dahomey: "The most fundamental of these (the non-relationship groupings), and the most immediate, is one which is most neglected by anthropologists—friendship."²⁹⁶ This lapse can be explained to a certain extent by the fact that friendship is not usually considered an institution and, for this reason, has not attracted as much attention as have marriage, leadership, and the like. Herskovits has taught us that in some parts of Africa the "best friend" is a veritable institution. Let us summarize some of his results. In Dahomey every man or woman has three friends. There is the best friend, the next best friend, and the third best friend. The first friend tells all of what he knows, the second tells half of what he knows, and the third "stands at the threshold and hears what he can".²⁹⁷ At the death of the best friend, Nos. 2 and 3 are promoted, and a new third best friend is appointed. The basic affectionate relation is supplemented by a semi-institutional expectation that the friends will perform certain necessary rites in cases of death and the like.²⁹⁸

Whether we can speak of institutional friendship in the case of the Greek *philoi* and *systatai* (group of two ephebes) seems to be doubtful.²⁹⁹ The tie which bound the *hetairoi* of the Heroic Age has been described as exactly analogous to the tie of blood binding members of a family together.³⁰⁰ Among the Teutons a blood-covenant was contracted which bound together two or more men for life in mutual obligation to provide protection, revenge, and burial.³⁰¹

There is a difference in principle between what we may call "open" associations, including or welcoming principally all men or all women in a society, and "closed" ones, that is, those choosing or selecting their members from an age group with or without definite requirements. Although the latter may also become conventional and stereotyped, the nature of a closed

²⁹⁶ Herskovits, *Dahomey*, Vol. I, chap. xiii.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 239; examples, p. 238, n. 1. Cf., however, Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 320, on friendship among the Dakota Indians. Cf. below, n. 303.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ Poland, *Vereinswesen*, pp. 53 ff.

³⁰⁰ Cf. the valuable introduction in Geoffrey Percival, *Aristotle on Friendship: Being an Expanded Translation of the Nicomachean Ethics* (Cambridge University Press, 1940), esp. pp. xv ff., on the development from the group concept to personal friendship. Cf. also Laurens Joseph Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama* (Williams & Norgate, 1937) on the classic and medieval concepts.

³⁰¹ Karl von Amira, "Grundriss des germanischen Rechts", in *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, ed. Hermann Paul (3rd ed.; Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1913), p. 165. Cf. "Artificial Brotherhood" (art.), in *ERE*, II, 857.

group is essentially different from the open one.³⁰² Recent anthropological studies have demonstrated the coexistence of both types of organization in the same society,³⁰³ with complicated rules regulating their relationships.³⁰⁴ Thus Rivers has called attention to the difference in Melanesia between the *sukwe* (society) of the village, a kindred group, and the bush society (a secret society).³⁰⁵

We often meet with groups in which three principles of association coalesce, that is, natural tie, purpose, and common status (e.g., profession). The second and third principles are not identical (cf., for the latter, chap. vi). Thus we have associations based upon occupational and social differentiation, but in which the subdivisions are organized according to age (apprentices), and the choice of the protective deities for the group is on the basis of individual religious experience. Again the decisive factor governing admittance to a group might be economic (requiring a fee), a regulation which in turn might be qualified by sex or age restrictions. Such a group may or may not be exclusive in its requirements for admission. Lowie has shown that in some of the Plains Indian societies there is a "blend of age and purchase factor".³⁰⁶ The buyer and the seller of these privileges are called, respectively, "father" and "son" with the Hidatsa Indians. Lowie correctly assumes, unlike Schurtz, that the age grouping is not necessarily ubiquitous or more permanent than any other type of association. In West and East Africa, Melanesia,³⁰⁷ and in some American Indian societies, associations based wholly or in part on age are, however, not infrequent. According to Lowie, the age factor is the "bond of union which forms groups and renders them permanent through a collective initial experience in

³⁰² On formalization of visions and other experiences of this kind cf. Ruth Fulton Benedict, *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (AAA Mem., Vol. XXIX (1923)); William Halse Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society* (Cambridge: University Press, 1914), Vol. I, chap. iii; Vol. II, chap. xxiv.

³⁰³ On the ceremonial "friendship" between "moieties" in men's and women's societies in Plains Indian tribes see R. Lowie, "Hidatsa and Mandan Societies", *Anthro. Papers, AMNM*, XI (1916), 229 ff.; the brother-in-arms relationship: Linton, *Study of Man*, chap. xv; and on the differentiated regulations of the Australian societies cf. Radcliffe-Brown, *Social Organization*, Part III.

³⁰⁴ Lowie, "Hidatsa Societies", pp. 225 ff., 323 ff.; "Age-Societies", in Wissler, *Societies of Plains Indians*, pp. 877 ff., 971 ff.

³⁰⁵ Lowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 961 ff.

³⁰⁶ Lowie, "Age-Societies", in Wissler, *Societies of Plains Indians*, pp. 953 ff., on the analogy and differences. Examples for purchase superseding the age factor in Africa: Butt-Thompson, *Secret Societies*, pp. 34 ff.

³⁰⁷ Lowie, "Age-Societies", in Wissler, *Societies of Plains Indians*, 961 ff. The graded organization and the dominance of the economic factor characterize the Melanesian associations (of men) (Rivers, *op. cit.*, I, 3). The age factor is less important here.

tribal society".³⁰⁸ He demonstrates that with the Indians certain dance rites are the characteristic and, perhaps, the exclusive rights of certain age groups, the grading of the ages varying in the different societies (cf. the different ages of the members of the Dog society in various Plains tribes). The same ritual (such as the Dog rites) denotes a high-ranking group among the Kiowa and a low-ranking group among the Blackfoot. With respect to Africa, one student states that age grading is a "primary factor in social organization and control" of the Galla, Masai, and Nanda.³⁰⁹ He adds that the grades of the Negroes are "less specific, less complicated, and not as fundamental to military organization as the pure Hamitic forms of age-grouping". A close relationship has thus been shown to exist between age grouping and other criteria as socially integrating factors.

We shall now concentrate upon the purer forms of association based on natural ties. The degree of cohesion here, as in other groupings, varies widely. There are permanent and transient, smaller and larger associations.³¹⁰ It is problematical whether common experiences should be regarded as causative factors or as consequences of the formation of such groups. Actually we find that they fulfil both functions and that an interaction takes place. Friendships engender common activities and interests, but we found that common purposes, whether practical or ideal, in this case are essentially secondary. Affinity based on identity of sex or of age is sufficient to establish and maintain a friendship. The interaction of both experience and integration can be clearly seen in some types of occupational cultic associations, as we will examine in chapter vi.

It has been correctly observed that the tendency to form sex and age associations has always been considerably more pronounced and more constant among men than among women, although examples of associations of women are numerous in primitive as well as in higher civilizations.³¹¹ After discussing the

³⁰⁸ Lowie, "Age-Societies", p. 979; cf. pp. 968 ff.

³⁰⁹ Wilfrid D. Hambly, *Source-Book for African Anthropology* (FMNH, Vol. XXVI (Chicago, 1937)), pp. 502 ff., 506.

³¹⁰ There are groups of three or four members which can hardly be called a "society" because of lack of organization in Plains Indian tribes, e.g., Clark Wissler, "Oglala Societies", *Anthro. Papers, AMNH*, XI (1916), 88; Robert H. Lowie, "Eastern Dakota Dances", *loc. cit.*, p. 138.

³¹¹ Wilfrid Dyson Hambly, *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples: A Comparative Study in Racial Development* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1926), chap. iv; Frazer, "The Seclusion of Girls in Puberty", in *The Golden Bough*, Vol. VII, chap. ii. On girls' adolescence rites in California see Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, pp. 861 ff. ("one of the ancient constituents of the religion of all California"); Lowie, "Hidatsa Societies", pp. 323 ff.

New Guinea initiation ceremonials, common to both boys and girls, and enumerating their cultic features, Lowie adds: "But the social import of the girls' ceremony is relatively slight; or rather, its significance is essentially of a private character. While among various African peoples initiation means entrance into an organization of women comparable to the Men's society, no such goal is attained in New Guinea."³¹² Female associations are usually more imitative and lack the cohesion and organization of the male associations.³¹³ With reference to the South American Indian tribes, Karsten mentions their belief that "the natural magical power is believed to be stronger in men than in women and in old men than in youths".³¹⁴

Division according to sex is frequently combined with differentiation according to age.³¹⁵ In Greece, Heracles was the patron of the men and Aphrodite of the women.³¹⁶ According to Lowie, in the Banks Islands the division into sex moieties is so pronounced that males eat and sleep together and form a "sort of tribal secret organization".³¹⁷ However, the sexual division is less pronounced among the old people. The most common form of demarcation of men within a larger unit³¹⁸ is into adults³¹⁹ and non-adults.³²⁰ Frequently, all adult males, irrespective of age, are united into groups like the famous Kachina society of the Zuñi of New Mexico, or the Poro society of the West African Kpelle, which excludes the women, children, and the alien. The dividing-line between adulthood and youth is marked by the rites of puberty.³²¹ The ceremonies of *initiation* which follow

³¹² Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, pp. 66 ff., and *Primitive Society*, pp. 303 ff.

³¹³ That is contested by Weiser, *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbünde*, p. 24. Schurtz and Webster give various arguments for the contention. E. M. Loeb, "Tribal Initiations" (cf. below, n. 322), p. 266, attributes the inclusion of woman to shamanistic (Siberian) influences.

³¹⁴ Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians*, pp. 162-63.

³¹⁵ On "Woman in Primitive Society" cf. F. Boas in *General Anthropology*, p. 465.

³¹⁶ Poland, *Veretinswesen*, p. 203; L. R. Farnell, "Sociological Hypotheses concerning the Position of Woman in Ancient Religion", *ARW*, VII (1904), 71 ff.

³¹⁷ Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, p. 275.

³¹⁸ Cf., e.g., Ruth L. Bunzel, "Zuni Katchinas" and "Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism", *BAE*, 37, Rep. (1932), pp. 843 ff., 473 ff., esp. 516 ff.

³¹⁹ Dietrich Westermann, *Die Kpelle, ein Negerstamm in Liberia* ("Quellen der Religionsgeschichte", No. 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhöck & Ruprecht, 1921)), pp. 228 ff.

³²⁰ Cf. Miller, *The Child in Primitive Society*, chaps. viii-ix on primitive education and chap. x on initiation.

³²¹ Van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, chap. vi; Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*, chap. xii; Webster, *Secret Societies*, chaps. ii-v; Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, chaps. viii ff.; Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians*, pp. 162 ff.; Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 306, on the Central and South Californian initiation ceremonies of the young man; Loomis Havemeyer, *The Drama of Savage Peoples* (Oxford University Press, 1916), chap. v: "Initiation Ceremonies" (of the Australian, Melanesian, Indian tribes).

periods of seclusion and preparation have three aspects, according to Malinowski: they include, first, a series of ordeals, usually some kind of mutilation connected with the idea of death and rebirth, and frequently enacted in a dramatic performance; second, "systematic instruction of the youth in the sacred myths and tradition, the gradual unveiling of tribal mysteries and the exhibition of sacred objects"; and, third, "rites of passing into manhood".³²² Thurnwald interprets ceremonies of this nature as being attempts to further agricultural growth and to establish and confirm the authority of the elders of the tribe over the youth.³²³

Frequently we find a threefold age grouping: "The three stages—childhood, manhood, and old age—are the natural age classes."³²⁴ The middle stage is marked by full participation in all activities and privileges of the tribe. The East African Masai have a triple organization, but only the middle group, which is subdivided according to the time of circumcision,³²⁵ develops any sort of group consciousness.³²⁶ In many of the less advanced civilizations, sexual maturity marks one stage and matrimony the other.³²⁷ The youth and men thus form three or four groups. The women predominantly are divided into three groups (pre-puberty, puberty, and marriage). Interesting are the women's associations of the Teton Dakota Indians, which boast of an "Owns Alone" society consisting of all women of forty years and over who have been strictly faithful to their husbands.³²⁸

The youth may be divided into children and boys. They may

³²² Malinowski, *Magic*, p. 39. For a comparative survey on initiation see Edwin M. Loeb, "Tribal Initiations and Secret Societies", *Calif. Pub.*, XXV, No. 3 (1929), 249 ff.

³²³ R. Thurnwald in *RLV*, II, 173 ff. For the Hebrew initiation ritual cf. E. O. James, "Initiatory Rituals", in *Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1933), pp. 152 ff.; Webster, *Secret Societies*, chap. i. On the Dorian and Cretan *andreion*: Busolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 755 ff. The study of M. Quistorp, "Männergesellschaft und Altersklassen im alten China" (Leipzig diss.), quoted by Max Weber (*G.A.*, I, 302), was not available to the author.

³²⁴ Weiser, *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen*, p. 22, with reference to Wilhelm Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig: W. Engelman, 1900 ff.), VII, 324 ff. Critical remarks to Schurtz's theory of the ubiquity of this trichotomy: Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 315 ff.

³²⁵ M. Merker, *Die Masai: Ethnographisch Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semiten-volks* (2nd ed.; Berlin: D. Reimer, 1910), pp. 67 ff., discussing the subdivisions of the youth group according to the time of circumcision. Cf. there (p. 721) on "circumcision moieties" (alternating years) with special language, taboos, etc.

³²⁶ Cf. besides the monographs by Merker and Hollis: Lowie in *Anthro. Papers, AMNH*, XI, No. 13 (1916), 955 ff.

³²⁷ On the division of the Andamans into children (until puberty), adolescents (until marriage), and those mature (until death): Radcliffe-Brown, *Social Organization of Australian Tribes*, p. 91.

³²⁸ Clark Wissler, "Oglala Societies", in *Anthro. Papers, AMNH*, XI (1916), 76 f.

be marked by special dress or symbols. The children of the Egyptians and the Omaha Indians of the North American Plains wear a special head-dress. The author has observed a similar custom among Mohammedan children in Morocco. Inasmuch as the larger political and social unit is composed of able-bodied men, active in warfare as well as in work and recreation, the process of organization becomes here more complicated.³²⁹

Youth associations with common residence (*Männerhaus*),³³⁰ special customs, duties, and special leadership are known in many primitive (Australia, Africa, Polynesia) as well as in the more highly developed societies. We hear of the education of Mexican youth at the "colleges", established in each of the twenty *calpulli* (local districts probably originating as tribal divisions) with a special institution for the nobility at the central college (the *calmecac*) at Tenochtitlan.³³¹ The boys' instruction began at the age of six and continued for six to eight years, with consideration for their future occupations. Special austerities were undergone, with military education beginning at the age of fifteen. The school served somewhat as a bachelor club. In Cuzco, the capital of ancient Peru, the Huarachicu ceremony marking the admission of the youths of high birth to knighthood was connected with the worship of the Huanacauri-huaca.³³² The Greeks and the Germanic tribes³³³ were also much concerned with the training and education of their age groups.³³⁴

One of the most characteristic phenomena of Greek antiquity, in contradistinction to Roman, states one of the leading authorities, are the associations according to age—the *paides*, *epheboi*, *neoi*, *gerontes*—experiencing their prime during imperial times.³³⁵

In Sparta there were six age classes (of from eight to thirteen years). Each boy entering the age of public school joined an *agele*. Members of such an *agele* practised, played, ate, and slept together, forming, under the leadership of an *eiren*, a community based on

³²⁹ Cf. Thurnwald in *RVG*, 184; *ERE*, V, 135.

³³⁰ The relation of social organization and education in primitive society is discussed in the comprehensive studies cited above, nn. 311 and 320.

³³¹ J. E. Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez*, pp. 40 ff. On the special initiation into the "knight-order" of Tecutls, *ibid.*, pp. 114 ff.

³³² Joyce, *South American Archaeology*, p. 112; on the ten age groups: MacLeod, *The Origin and History of Politics*, pp. 216-17.

³³³ Höfler, *Geheimbünde*, pp. 154 ff., 323 ff.

³³⁴ On the "naojote" or initiation ceremony of the Parsees cf. James Hope Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi: The Study of Modern Zoroastrianism* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1917), pp. 160 ff. On the Indian Upanayana: Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, chap. ii, and R. Mookerji, "Hindu Educational Systems", in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, III (1938), 222 ff.

³³⁵ Poland, *Vereinswesen*, p. 6; "Neoi" (art.), in *PWRE*, XVI, 2401 ff.

communal living. From his fourteenth to his twentieth year the youth was a member of the *eiren*, from which he was graduated into the full rights and privileges of citizenship.³³⁶ Rostovtzeff has examined the Roman associations of youth in the Augustan period.³³⁷ They were well organized with full initiation rites and were presided over by the magisters. Their connection with the military organization was less pronounced than in Greece.

Respect for *old age* varies greatly with the different nations.³³⁸ With the Australians,³³⁹ Africans,³⁴⁰ Chinese,³⁴¹ Japanese, Hebrews,³⁴² Greeks ("Gerontes"),³⁴³ Romans (*senatus*), and Venetians of the Middle Ages,³⁴⁴ the aged, whether individually or in representative groups, were highly revered. In fact, the Australian native public life is dominated by old men.³⁴⁵ Vinogradoff considers the "institution of the elders" to be the most powerful of primitive organizations.³⁴⁶

We have not the space to trace in detail the growth of age-group hierarchies and of corresponding differentiation in society.³⁴⁷ The fact that, among many tribes in Africa, the warriors are divided into a number of distinct classes based on age differences indicates clearly the coalescence of this system of social organiza-

³³⁶ Busolt, *Staatskunde*, pp. 695-96. Mariano San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer* (2 vols.; München: C. H. Beck, 1913, 1915), Vol. I, chap. ii.

³³⁷ Mikhail F. Rostovtsev, "Römische Bleitesserae", in *Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, Vol. III (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1905); also *Social and Economic History*, p. 501. Comparison between Attic *ephebeia* and Roman *juventus*: pp. 65 ff. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 87 ff.

³³⁸ On Melanesian gerontocracy cf. Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, Vol. II, chap. xvii, with same arbitrary historical theories.

³³⁹ MacLeod, *The Origin and History of Politics*, chaps. ii, vi.

³⁴⁰ Butt-Thompson, *Secret Societies*, pp. 205 ff.

³⁴¹ Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, pp. 108 ff. It has been shown that the great prestige of age is weakening in China.

³⁴² On the Hebrew "Elders" ("zaken"), whom he defines as "those who are possessed of authority", and their status cf. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, pp. 36-37.

³⁴³ On the associations called *gerousiai* in Asia Minor and the Greek colonies, which also seem to have had a semi-public character, cf. Ziebarth, *Das griechisches Vereinswesen*, pp. 115 ff., and Poland, *Vereinswesen*, pp. 98 ff., who emphasizes the fact that the *gerusiastai* have their centre more in the *gymnasium* than, as formerly, in the sanctuary. Cf. Busolt, *Staatskunde*, pp. 679 ff.; cf. also San Nicolò, *op. cit.*, on *gerusiai*.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, I, 334 ff.; MacLeod, "Gerontocracy" (art.), in *ESS*, VI, 637 ff.

³⁴⁵ Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 359.

³⁴⁶ Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, p. 351.

³⁴⁷ R. Lowie (in Wissler, *Societies of Plains Indians*) has shown that the (North American) Plains Indian type of society might be frequently based on age grouping, but is certainly not always identical with it. Age, according to him (p. 979), determines membership in a group, purchase secures the acquisition of particular activities and functions. Cf. also Thurnwald, *Economics*, p. 174.

tion with that based on professional or social or other distinctions.³⁴⁸ Among the Greeks³⁴⁹ we find the interesting institution of the *epheboi*,³⁵⁰ an association of youth of a semi-public character.³⁵¹ In its later phase it developed a strong spirit of solidarity and enjoyed self-government, another example of a subdivision in society resulting from a blend of artificial and natural associations.³⁵² We know most of the Attic *ephebeia*. From the general organization, smaller groups branched out, forming groups of *synepheboi* (comrades), *philoï* (friends), *adelphoi kai systatai* (brothers and companions), etc. Heracles and Hermes were the patrons.

Recent studies among the South Germanic tribes have revealed youth groups distinguished from the children and the adult groups by the privilege of bearing arms, by special attire, and dedicated to the cultivation of certain attitudes (ecstasy) and consecration to the gods.³⁵³ The militant character of these groups indicates the transition from the natural association to the secret society and the professional corporation. Even in advanced civilizations we find interesting residues of religiously significant age-group divisions. The Moslem brotherhood of Basra (*Ikhwan as-safa*) of the tenth century was divided into four groups: men of fifteen to thirty, thirty to forty, forty to fifty, and over fifty years old, with initiatory rites in each succeeding group.³⁵⁴

So the religious significance of natural grouping is considerable, and attempts to find its meaning only in social impulses and interests are doomed to inadequacy. The many religious conceptions and rites which we find so inseparably connected with natural groups cannot be explained solely as secondary additions,

³⁴⁸ William S. Ferguson, *Zulus and Spartans* ("Harvard African Studies" (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918)).

³⁴⁹ Cf. the somewhat too speculative but interesting comments of J. Harrison in *Themis*, chap. i, on the *Kouretes* and the Cretan youth initiation, and its criticism by Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, p. 18.

³⁵⁰ Ziebarth, *Das griechisches Vereinswesen*, pp. 110 ff. ("Vereine von Altersgenossen"). Busolt, *Staatskunde*, I, 496, 577; II, 1188 (bibliography).

³⁵¹ Busolt, *Staatskunde*, I, 496, 577; Ziebarth, *Das griechisches Vereinswesen*, p. 111; Poland, *Vereinswesen*, pp. 88-89, 92.

³⁵² On the much disputed associations of the *neoi* and the *gerusiai* cf. Ziebarth, *op. cit.*

³⁵³ Weiser, *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen*, pp. 32 ff. Cf. the discussion in chap. xxxi of Tacitus' *Germania* concerning the asceticism (celibacy) of the Chatti warrior youths, which this author interprets as a "Kriegerischen Männerbund mit religiöser Grundlage" (warrior league on religious basis) (p. 38). Somewhat incoherent is the treatment of the interesting phenomenon of the "berserkr" (pp. 43 ff.). Very possibly the "berserkr" state was among Nordic Teutons a phase of ecstatic activity through which the male youth passed, later to abandon it. Cf. now particularly Höfler, *Geheimbünde*, esp. pp. 154 ff., 197-98, 246 ff.

³⁵⁴ T. J. De Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam* (Stuttgart: Fr. Frommann, 1901), pp. 78 ff.; *EI*, II, 459 f.

even though the associations often develop and degenerate in the course of time with the emergence of other factors and interests, such as the growth of artistic sense, the growing influence and ambition of functionaries entrusted with the conservation of lore and ritual, and the influence of economic motivation. The cultic significance of the natural associations seems in many societies to have diminished with time and with the progressive fading of the religious colouring; rites became obsolete, began to be reinterpreted in secular terms and eventually were transformed into pantomime and buffoonery. The survival and pseudomorphosis of such ancient elements of originally sacred natural lore are particularly interesting to study in Western civilization (Germanic, Celtic, and classical cultures), though analogies to this process are to be found everywhere (it has been the favourite subject of extensive studies like those of Frazer and others).³⁵⁵ It is sufficient here that we recognize the importance of the integration of individuals on the basis of natural relationships into associations, thus helping to build up the complex structure of a more differentiated society.³⁵⁶ In chapter v we shall make a more thorough summary of some of the groupings so far outlined.

8. CONCLUSION

After having examined the relations to religion of various types of grouping on the basis of natural ties, we are now in a position to appreciate their significance in the development of both religion and society. We have noted the strong cohesion effected in groups interwoven by religious as well as by natural bonds. This cohesion appears to be so complete that the social and religious factors seem to make almost a perfect blend. All social functions which serve in any way to integrate the group may be regarded as expressions of loyalty to higher values and thus take on a semi-religious meaning. From here it is natural to engage in acts of worship as the deepest and most effective way of strengthening the existing bonds. The sociologist, however,

³⁵⁵ Cf. particularly the work of the folkloristic school of Mannhardt, and of other authors enumerated in Grönbech's sketch of the religion of the Teutons in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch*, II, 540 ff.; also van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion*, par. 22.

³⁵⁶ A recent survey and analysis of modern "secret societies" in the United States provide interesting material for such studies: Noel Pitts Gist, *Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States* ("University of Missouri Studies", Vol. XV, No. 4 (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1940)). There (pp. 21 ff.) the criteria of sex and age (juvenile, adult). On age grading in sectarianism (Moravian "Choirs") cf. below, chap. v, sec. 12.

should not be deceived, as was the positivist school, by this apparent identity of religious and social behaviour. The group, family, clan, or tribe as a social and religious unit is identical, but the meaning of the social and religious cohesion is different in each case. Unity in the family is created by the belief, even if fictitious, that all the members of the family are related. Norms representing reciprocal rights and duties might be derived from a common sense of familial obligation, but the basic relationship is as one individual to another. In the case of religion, individual relations are secondary; communion with the numen is primary and is basic in achieving religious integration.³⁵⁷

Cohesion of a group is never static, and the only inevitability is change. Group life is always in the process of becoming, of transforming itself. What was prepared yesterday and achieved to-day will give way to-morrow. The cohesion of identical groups is dynamic; it is subject to growth and decline. Social and religious forms are not always properly balanced, and the sociologist must be ever mindful of those groups in which religious and social integration is not achieved. It is the task of the historian to trace the process of organization and disintegration of society, and he will often find upward trends in religion accompanying cultural decline in other spheres, as well as the reverse. The fallacy of regarding religion as a function of natural social grouping is thus readily apparent.

In the introductory chapters of this volume the necessity of accepting either an extreme individualistic or collectivistic conception of society was disavowed. The material presented in this chapter should prove the correctness of this position. From the individualist viewpoint, the family, tribe, or age group is the sum total of a number of related or believed-to-be-related individuals; from the collectivist point of view, the group is merely an undifferentiated collective. Neither of these extreme views appears reasonable, for the sociologist of religion finds in the family cult a closely knit unit consisting of father, mother, children, or other relatives, in which the individual is not effaced but is assigned a characteristic role in consonance with his position within the group. On the other hand, the group alone provides the basis for the performance of religious rites which distinguish it from a heterogeneous crowd and from other family groups. Here again we think only in dynamic terms.

³⁵⁷ Cf. for our criticism of Macmurray's too unguarded identification of social and religious community, above, chap. i, n. 52; chap. ii, nn. 2 and 53.

Balance may be effected between individual and collective claims in any given civilization, society, or group which functions also as a unit of worship; but this balance is very easily disturbed or destroyed, although it may later be restored on a different level.

It will be interesting from this point of view to observe the role of the individual in the type of grouping to be described in the next chapter and the role of that grouping in the framework of the whole of society to be taken up in the sixth chapter. It has become apparent that a common structure is prevalent. The authority and leadership which prevail do not allow for a strictly equalitarian concept or idea. The type of leadership in an identical group is characteristically complex: the authority of the father, mother, chieftain, or age-group leader is natural, social, political, and religious. The purely religious leader is exceptional, although found even in primitive societies with predominantly identical groupings. Inasmuch as we understand the incipient differentiation of function in the identical groups of even simple activities and the emergence of specialized personnel entrusted with the cultus of the community, we are well prepared to continue the discussion of this phase of our problem in chapters vi and viii of this volume.

CHAPTER V

SPECIFICALLY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY

I. A NEW PRINCIPLE OF GROUPING: SPECIFICALLY RELIGIOUS GROUPS

We have hitherto discussed identical types of religious and social organization and have noted that this identity prevails in less complex cultures. Two factors tend to promote a change in this situation: the growing differentiation in the sociological, political, and cultural structure of society and the enrichment of the religious experience of individuals and groups. The beginnings of both processes are clearly discernible in primitive societies. Although the numerical growth of a sociological unit—family, clan, or tribe—does not necessarily alter its religious status, it inevitably leads to divisions and subdivisions for cultic purposes. Age groups which originally aimed at preparing its members for full participation in the rights and duties of manhood and to serve the desires of companionship and fellowship are destined later to be further differentiated. Increasing differences in property, occupation, and rank also favour corresponding variations in religious thought, action, and organization. Finally, the initiative of outstanding leaders in response to momentous events in the life of the people, like wars, plagues, and other *portenta*, greatly influences the religious attitude of the group and its corresponding expression, in spite of the conservative tradition in religious thought which tends to cast this expression in predetermined forms.

This, however, reveals only one side of the picture. We must, as previously indicated, allow not only for changes and developments in the social and political structure of a people, with its effect on traditional religion, but for autonomous religious development as well. It may be questioned whether religious activity can be isolated from other group functions in primitive society, but a careful study of the evidence convinces us that, even in the lesser civilizations, religious experience has its own peculiar dialectic. Moreover, the appearance of individual move-

ments and leaders of primarily religious character indicates that, in spite of the frequent identity and interpenetration of socio-political and religious activities, religion maintains a distinct autonomous development.¹

A new type of grouping appears which, though current throughout the history of civilization, has not always been adequately recognized. The feeling of solidarity developing in these new units is to a certain extent revolutionary.² The consciousness of this solidarity will vary; it will increase and decrease with the development of the new unit. This new form of grouping is characterized by the concept of relationship as spiritual fatherhood and spiritual brotherhood. The new community will differ from the natural groups not only in the type of organization, in rites, and in beliefs but primarily in a new spirit of unity. We have found that it is not so much organic growth which makes for the emergence of this spirit as it is a definite break with the past and with the ties of nature which characterizes its rise. The more pronounced this break, the more definitely can we call the new unit a specifically religious group. Symbols of the break, which is consciously experienced even at the level of primitive culture, are such concepts as regeneration, rebirth, conversion, and corresponding rites. Those who undergo this experience, either collectively or, more frequently, individually, are stimulated to join in close company. The intimacy of the new religious experience makes for intimacy of the new fellowship. At first it may consist merely in the exchange of the new knowledge between a few; later, of more followers and companions; then it may grow into a lasting association, binding itself to the pursuit of a definite way of life and welding its members into a strongly knit community. The various differences which prevailed in the "old world", now left behind, are meant to be extinguished. They are implicitly or explicitly repudiated, though with the growth of the new community they may reappear. Theoretically there may be agreement that no new differences and distinctions should be allowed to develop, but practically

¹ Unfortunately, Jakob Wilhelm Hauer's study, *Die Religionen: Ihr Werden, ihr Sinn, ihre Wahrheit* (Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1923), Vol. I: *Das religiöse Erlebnis auf den unteren Stufen*, which placed decided emphasis on the intensification of the religious experience in his review of the history of religion, has not been completed. It ends with a very understanding discussion of highest types of religious concepts and institutions in the more advanced primitive societies (cf. esp. chap. viii).

² The fact is clearly seen and stated by Arthur D. Nock, *Conversion* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1933), chaps. i and ii, esp. p. 28 for ancient civilization.

they will emerge, and frequently new groups have frankly and freely postulated and recognized them. Where the difference of sex counts for nought, another difference, inherited from the world organized according to "natural" ties, will be confirmed: that of age. Of the most important criterion of discrimination—the recognition of religious charisma—we will speak presently. In spite of a minimum of differentiation traceable in almost all cases, the new group is dominated by a spirit of solidarity. The possession of a new experience unites and integrates its members most intimately. But it also sets them apart from the rest of the world, which does not, as yet, share in it. To make it share is the more or less determined aim of most specifically religious groups. One of the most important differences between them and the identical community which we discussed in the fourth chapter of this book is their potential missionary character. The missionary interest may be principally limited or (potentially) universal. The former we find in groups united by an experience which is thought to be open only to an ethnically, religiously, or otherwise defined minority or majority of people: a religious *élite* (which, of course, may definitely be far from being a social or political *élite*). In the first case the "natural" order of things may be partly incorporated into the new religious conception; in the second (religious criterion) a theological explanation for a more or less final dualism of included and excluded is necessary. We shall see that the exclusivity of some of the so-called "sectarian" groups is so justified. According to the interpretation of its own nature, significance, and message which a specifically religious group holds, its attitude towards those outside will vary. If it is constitutionally selective, it will discriminate between prospective converts and those who cannot be converted. The first will be treated with care ("potential brother"), the second with indifference or contempt.³ We shall see that secret and mystery societies and some sects exhibit these two attitudes. If it is (potentially or actually) universal in its aim, the specifically religious group will admit no principal difference in the dealings with members and non-members, though actually feelings of superiority towards the latter and double standards will develop easily. *Binnenethik* (ethics valid only within) is, as the history of religion shows very clearly, definitely not limited to natural groups, of which it is characteristic.

³ Cf. below, chap. vii, sec. 8.

We shall now turn to the study of different types of specifically religious groups, beginning with more mixed and cruder forms and leading up to the more perfect ones. It is easily understandable that there are two kinds: those whose origin we can trace through historical studies and those whose beginnings are hidden not only from their members but from us as well.

2. THE SECRET SOCIETY

The first type of organization to be examined in this chapter we will call the "secret society". A great deal has been written on the history of "secret societies", but the term is usually not clearly defined. A recent survey⁴ includes, for example, mystery cults (cf. below, sec. 3); the association of the Druids, which is a religious professional group (chap. viii); the Templars, an order (see sec. 111c); and a number of philosophical and purely political associations.⁵ The secret society should also not be confused with the grouping according to age and sex, discussed in our fourth chapter, nor with the professional groups, which will be examined in the sixth. As a group which is open to all who qualify on the basis of a special experience or other prerequisites it is not an exclusive association of the type of the occupational associations, which are limited to people of the same profession, as, for instance, those of religious functionaries (cf. chap. viii). The secret society is found in many primitive societies. Radin, for example, delineates four types of religious groups among the Winnebago Indians,⁶ with correspondingly well-developed and well-defined practices and rites: (1) clans or natural groups, the ceremonies of which only clan members are allowed to attend; (2) religious societies limited to those who obtained the blessings of a special spirit, or, in our terminology, specifically religious associations based on individual (though at times stereotyped) experiences; (3) "medicine groups" into which only the initiated are allowed, or, in other words, what we call the "mystery society"; and (4) semi-permanent organizations (e.g., associations of warriors with special achievements to their credit for the per-

⁴ John Heron Lepper, *Famous Secret Societies* (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1932).

⁵ The best recent survey on political secret societies (contemporary) is Franz Schweyer, *Politische Geheimverbände: Blicke in die Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des Geheimbundes* (Freiburg i. Br., 1925).

⁶ Paul Radin, *The Winnebago* (BAE, No. 37, 1915-16 (1923)), p. 317. Cf. also Clark Wissler, "General Discussion of Shaman and Dancing Societies", *Anthro. Papers, AMNH*, XI (1916), 853 ff.

formance of special rites).⁷ So we find here, in addition to the natural groups, others the emergence of which we may well attribute to the weakening and subsiding of the vitality in the traditional units.

Students of the classical civilizations have always found themselves at a loss when trying to explain the great changes that have accompanied the decline of the traditional cults and the emergence of new religious attitudes.⁸ The fact is that we see the emergence of a new grouping in Greece which was due to a dissatisfaction with the traditional one based on natural criteria only. The Greek Orgeones,⁹ which existed until the sixth century at least, and presumably were associations of individuals devoted to a cult of special deities, were completely different from the gentile associations (*thiasos*) as well as from the occupational associations with cultic significance (cf. below, chap. vi). The Asclepiadai, worshippers of the god of healing, were not the Greek counterpart of the British Medical Association but, according to Poland, private groups of special devotees of the deity.¹⁰ The founders of these societies are not known. Among the foreign cult groups in Rome in imperial days there also were, besides nationally and professionally homogeneous groups, groups united primarily by a religion or a mystical experience.¹¹

Not all emergent religious grouping, however, should be interpreted as automatic religious, intellectual, and moral growth. The new faith is not just the "result" of the decadence in the old. Whatever we may regard as the reason for the decline and defeat of the traditional cult, the new principle of association always reveals a creative impulse in religious experience. The founder or founders of a new specifically religious institution, as the secret society, may be known, or the society may have had its origin in the dim and hazy past and may have failed to preserve a fitting tradition to commemorate it. In primitive society we must always reckon with these two possibilities. We hear of individuals who are supposed to have founded religious associations among the

⁷ Cf. below, sec. 3 and chap. vi, sec. 6.

⁸ The studies of Paul François Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les grecs: thiasos, éranes, orgéons* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1873), have been corrected and modified by Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1896), and by Franz Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909).

⁹ Georg Busolt, *Staatskunde* (3rd ed.; München: C. H. Beck, 1920), pp. 525, 253, 958-59. Cf. the forthcoming study by William S. Fergusson on the Orgeones.

¹⁰ Poland, *Vereinswesen*, pp. 209-10.

¹¹ See below, sec. 3. Cf. George la Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire", Vol. XX, *HTHR* (1927), chaps. ii-v.

American Indians¹² and among the Africans,¹³ but we cannot be certain whether they were genuine creators and inventors or whether they merely injected new life into an old religious tradition.

MacLeod refers to the interesting organization of the North American Kwakiutl Indians, whose natural grouping is replaced by a different order during wartime and during the winter dances. "Men are thereupon united socially and politically, essentially upon the basis of a common mystical experience; they are organized into sacred societies."¹⁴ Associations founded for purely religious motives sometimes merge with others based on age, professional status, property, or rank. Such an obliteration of the original religious purpose by secondary motives is evidenced in certain societies of America, Oceania, and Africa.

In his summary and analysis of the African secret societies, Hambly mentions the following types: (1) those based on age and sex affinities; (2) those connected with initiation; (3) those concerned with political aims and significance, possessing jurisdiction over the lives and property of their members; and (4) those based on economic differentiation and requiring fees.¹⁵ Only the second type are true secret societies. The author does not take up the problem of chronology and classification.¹⁶ Another Africanist, Butt-Thompson, however, tries to establish a chronology of the numerous types of West African societies he discusses. He divides them into religious (legal, religious, priestly, prohibitive, protective, purifying societies), patriotic (agricultural, co-operative, sport, trade, war societies), and subversive ones.¹⁷

The so-called "secret society"¹⁸ is the comparatively undeveloped form of the specifically religious organization. The

¹² On the foundation of the "tobacco society" by a medium Crow cf. R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religions* (Routledge), pp. 3 ff., 246 ff.; of the Dog-men society: G. A. Dorsey, *The Cheyenne* (FMNH, Vol. IX (1905)), pp. 22 ff.; and many monographs, such as: Reo Franklin Fortune, *Omaha Secret Societies* ("Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology", No. 14 (1932)), esp. chaps. iv, v; Ruth Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism" (BAE, No. 47, 1929-30 (1932)), pp. 467 ff. Cf. also n. 35.

¹³ Cf. below, n. 36.

¹⁴ William Christie MacLeod, *The Origin and History of Politics* (Chapman & Hall, 1931), p. 119.

¹⁵ Wilfrid Dyson Hambly, *Source-Book for African Anthropology* (FMNH, Vol. XXVI (Chicago, 1937)), pp. 498 ff.

¹⁶ Various types of associations are discussed by Robert H. Lowie, *Origin of the State* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1927), chap. v; e.g., the Poro association of the Kpelle of West Africa. See the classical studies of Hermann Schurtz, Hutton Webster, and Jakob Wilhelm Hauer and "Secret Societies" (art.), in *EJS*, XIII, 621 ff.

¹⁷ Butt-Thompson, *Secret Societies*, chap. i.

¹⁸ Cf. Hauer's discussion of Melanesian, Polynesian, West African, and North American secret societies (*Die Religionen*, pp. 424 ff.). Cf. also Edwin M. Loeb, *Tribal Initiations and Secret Societies* (Calif. Pub., Vol. XXV (1931)) (cited hereafter as "Loeb, *Tribal Initiations*"), pp. 249 ff.

members of a secret society are not necessarily related or of similar age, but they share in common religious experiences which have led to the development of a cult of specific deities, who are considered to be the protectors of the society, and to the performance of corresponding rites. The association thus formed is relatively permanent and is frequently strong and diversified. In his excellent analysis of the Dahomean cult groups Herskovits describes the culthouse, novitiate, general instruction, learning of dances, the elaborate initiation ceremonies of such societies including the testing of the novices, and the priesthood of the *vodu*, the deity.¹⁹ Four classes of members of these cult groups are known in Dahomey: (1) the *voduno*, who possesses the fetish; (2) the *hunso*, who "carries it"; (3) the *vodunsi*, who is vowed to its service; and (4) the *legbans*, who incarnates the power of the *vodu*. With regard to the (West African) Yoruba, Lowie states: "What unites all the people in the oro association is the common worship of a distinct deity and the joint performance of certain funeral ceremonies, irrespective of either kinship or residence."²⁰

Some of the rites of secret societies are aimed at the increase of the fertility of the soil or of the animals, a blessing which is of the greatest importance to all its members. They also might involve care for the sick or departed or, perhaps, be related to the desire for eternal happiness or immortality.²¹ In all these instances the original impulse making for association is magical or religious. The nature of these associations has often been misrepresented. Some scholars have over-emphasized their "social" character, but, with the exception of the late decadent forms, purely social interests have usually been secondary in importance.²² Criticism must also be levelled at the profounder theory of a special social instinct or urge to associate which leads, according to some, to the formation of non-kinship groups.²³ We do not mean to say that secret societies are purely religious; motives such as lust for power and desire for health, wealth, or protection do characterize the

¹⁹ Melville Jean Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), Vol. II, chaps. xxvi ff., esp. xxix.

²⁰ Lowie, *Origin of the State*, pp. 74-75. Cf. also *ERE*, XI, 287 ff., and Hambly, *Source-Book*, pp. 498 ff. On the Oro society cf. also Leo Frobenius, *Die atlantische Götterlehre* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1926), pp. 49 ff.

²¹ Loeb, *Tribal Initiations*, pp. 259 ff., 264.

²² Cf. Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies* (Macmillan), chap. viii: "Decline of Tribal Societies"; Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 19 ff. N. Miller in *ESS*, XIII, 621, underestimates the religious significance of those associations.

²³ This is the theory promoted by Heinrich Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde: Eine Darstellung der Grundformen der Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1902), who was seconded by Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1921).

more degenerate forms of secret societies. Thus the well-known Arioi society of the Society Islands degenerated into a comedian group. Their performances were originally mysteries traced to a personal deity. Eight different grades of initiates were distinguished by tattoos and dress.²⁴ Ruth Benedict's statement that "religion was used" and "its function was to accomplish something, and it was first and foremost a technique for success" is certainly correct in this and similar cases, but is not generally valid for the type of group which we discuss.²⁵ It is also doubtful whether it is fair to conclude, as the same author does, that "spirituality and the virtues are two social values which were discovered in the process of living the social life". Maybe they were rediscovered.

A comparison of the Plains Indian with the Melanesian secret societies is interesting.²⁶ Both civilizations abound in associations of various types. Admission into the Melanesian *sukwe* is an individual affair dependent upon payment of entrance fees.²⁷ Within the society we find a hierarchy of grades; the members of all grades form the *sukwe* and share with the others the same community centre or men's house. In the Plains Indian association, however, membership is codetermined by age and confers the privilege of participation in particular activities and functions which are collective and not individual in character.²⁸ Each group has its separate house in contrast to the Melanesian domicile, which is communal in type.²⁹

In all groups organized as secret societies membership is not a matter of course, as in the natural groups, but a result of selection and election. Their tradition, rites, and ceremonials are the exclusive rights of the initiates. Secrecy is often so strictly preserved that outsiders, including scholars, have been completely led astray as to the real nature, purpose, and character of these groups.³⁰ Only the chosen members, often after a period of probation and then gradually, gain insight into the true meaning

²⁴ Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti* ("Bernice Bishop Mus. Bull.", Vol. XLVII (Honolulu, 1928)), pp. 230 ff., 234.

²⁵ Ruth Benedict in *General Anthropology*, ed. Franz Boas (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1938), p. 633.

²⁶ Lowie, *Societies of Plains Indians*, in *Anthro. Papers AMNH*, XI, No. 13 (1916), 961 ff.

²⁷ William H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1914), Vol. II, chap. xxiv; Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 275 ff.

²⁸ Lowie, *Societies of Plains Indians*, p. 979.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 981.

³⁰ For a comparison cf. the monograph of Herbert Liboron, *Die Karpokratianische Gnosis* ("Studien zur Religionswissenschaft", No. 3, ed. F. R. Lehmann (Leipzig: Jordan & Gramberg, 1938)). On "mystery" groups see below, sec. 3.

of the concepts and practices of the association. Increasingly severe tests ensure the fitness of those qualified for admittance into the association and especially into its inner circle. Admission follows a period of thorough instruction in the aim and purpose of the group, symbolized by "death" and "rebirth", rejuvenation, perhaps the choice of a new name, and a knowledge of the sacred language.³¹ These associations vary in their attitudes to non-members. In the more degenerate ones contempt is shown and hostility to the point of persecution prevails against the outsider.

Lest it become lost or distorted, the religious tradition of a secret society is usually codified in doctrine, rites, and organization. Special mythological concepts explain and justify acts of worship, the use of instruments, the choice of sacred places, the ceremonials, qualifications, and duties of the functionaries of the society. The prerequisites for membership and for office are determined by the tradition as expressed in myth and in doctrine. For the functionaries and even for the members capacity for ecstatic experience is often required. Extraordinary experiences inaccessible to the uninitiated are thus made available to the members. Ecstasy plays a vital role in African, north-eastern Asiatic, and American Indian secret societies; and both here and elsewhere prayer, sacrifice, and lustration are supplemented by dramatic performances and sacred dances, especially masked dances.

In so far as these activities involve the rudiments of education and instruction, they possess a considerable cultural significance and are likely to become determining factors in the economic and political life of the group.³² Their effect, both good and bad, on law and custom is no less important. Religion has been greatly influenced by this type of religious organization, particularly in its more advanced forms. The cultivation of a genuine experience of the holy, the fostering of awe and reverence, the stress upon proper preparation, the discipline of mind and body through asceticism, meditation, and solitude are of great value in the development from cruder beginnings to higher forms of religious life.

The religious associations of the American Indians seem superior to those of the other peoples. There is less of the

³¹ Cf. for West Africa: Butt-Thompson, *Secret Societies*, chaps. ii, iii, ix. Cf. on the elaborate hierarchy *ibid.*, chap. v.

³² Lowie, *Origin of the State*, p. 94, discusses the associations of the Plains Indians and their bearing upon the political development.

degrading pragmatism of Oceania; there are loftier and more subtle conceptions, more sober practices, and more rigid discipline.³³ We can discern among these aborigines a threefold tendency, the forerunner of a much higher type of religious communion. The first characteristic feature is the part played by outstanding, powerful individuals,³⁴ "primitive prophets",³⁵ as they have been called.³⁶ Inspired by their visions, they believe themselves to be divine instruments. Possessing particular training and special propensities, these leaders develop unusual faculties of insight and enjoy tremendous prestige³⁷ among their people. The "prophet"³⁸ or seer may remain an isolated figure or lead a group of followers; his activity may be sporadic or continuous and professional. Hardship and even suffering may be his daily bread. Under circumstances such as these religious experience tends to become fuller, richer, and of a more individual character, contributing richly to collective life. By gathering followers, the individual leader ensures continuous religious growth and development of the movement he starts. The personality and cult of the "divine men" of antiquity who commanded to an exceptional degree the admiration and affection of their fellows have recently

³³ Hauer, *Die Religionen*, pp. 424 ff., 452 ff.; Loeb, *Tribal Initiations*, pp. 266 ff., who believes the centre of diffusion of secret societies in North America to have been the Pueblo and southern California region.

³⁴ Cf. the distinction between charismatic and traditional authority by Max Weber, *G.A.*, I, 269-70.

³⁵ The history of the North American Indians offers particularly instructive examples. Cf. the classical monograph by James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak in 1890* (BAE, No. 14 (Washington, 1896)), pp. 653 ff., and, recently, Alexander Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost-Dance Hand Game: A Study in Cultural Change* ("Columbia University Studies in Anthropology", Vol. XVI (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933)), esp. pp. 53 ff., 105 ff.; and Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Pub. Co., 1935). Also Nat P. Phister, "The Indian Messiah", *AA*, IV (1891), 105 ff.; Verne F. Ray, "The Kulaskin Cult: A Prophetic Movement of 1870", *AA*, XXVIII (1936), 67 ff.; A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), pp. 855 ff.; Jaime de Angulo, "A New Religious Movement in North Central California", *AA*, XXXI (1929), 265 ff.; Ruth Shonle, "Peyote, the Giver of Visions", *AA*, XXVII (1925), 53 ff.; cf. also Radin, *The Winnebago*, pp. 388 ff.

³⁶ On recent African prophets see Karl Aldén, "The Prophet Movement in Congo", *IRM*, XXV (1936), 347 ff. Cf. Hauer, *Die Religionen*, pp. 458 ff., 472.

³⁷ A comparison between primitive cult leadership and that in American Negro cults is to be found in Raymond Julius Jones, *A Comparative Study of Religious Cult Behavior among Negroes* ("Studies in the Social Sciences", No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1939), pp. 7 ff. (personality of leader), pp. 17 ff. (techniques). Cf. also Robert Allerton Parker, *The Incredible Messiah* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1937).

³⁸ "Prophet" is used here in a broad sense. Later (chap. viii) an analysis of various types of religious authority will be given. Cf. also Lowie, "Leadership" in *Scientific Aspects of the Race Problem*, ed. H. S. Jennings (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941), pp. 220 ff.

been made the subject of an illuminating study.³⁹ There is significant difference between the Greek and the Hebrew conception of religious leadership; both, however, may be traced to more primitive notions of religious charisma and qualifications. East Asia offers us an analogy. When the official state Shinto religion was established in Japan in 1882 and officially divorced from private Shinto, the criterion according to which the various cults were grouped was the consideration that the former had "developed spontaneously in the national life without the aid of individual founders", whereas the Kyokai were "private sects dominated by their faith in historical founders".⁴⁰

In addition to individual leadership, a second trend is discernible in the development of the secret society—the tendency towards progressively more complex organizational structures within a given religious group. Individual differences, constitutional and acquired, become the basis for differentiation in type of religious work done and required, in rank, and in prestige. A third tendency, more fully developed in the so-called "mystery cults" than in the secret society, is the hierarchical tendency, which is well represented already at this stage in Polynesia and Africa.

3. THE MYSTERY SOCIETY: GREECE AND ROME

The mystery society is the second type of specifically religious organization. The term "mystery religion" is frequently used quite loosely.⁴¹ Certain of its theological features cannot be distinctive, as they are common to various groups. For example, enthusiasm, the idea of immortality and rebirth, and the use of sacraments are held in common by groups as widely different as national cultic groups, free associations of worshippers of a special deity, or élite groups with restricted membership based on common descent, esoteric knowledge, or occupation. Mystery societies, however, represent a distinct type of religious association and are found even in primitive cultures such as the Polynesian.⁴² Members of these societies trace their origins to divine beginnings, pay devotion to the spirits of their ancestors, and prepare to share in the bliss of the world after death by participating in the sacred rites of the league.

³⁹ Ludwig Bieler, *Theios Aner: Das Bild des göttlichen Menschen in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Wien: Oscar Höfels, 1935). The development of the concept of *theios* from Homer to Aristotle, I, 10 ff., and of the Old Testament men of God, II, 1 ff.

⁴⁰ Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, pp. 67 ff., 189 ff.

⁴¹ Cf. the mixed list of interpretations of the term which Samuel Angus gives in *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* (Murray, 1925), p. 77. Cf. below, n. 49.

⁴² Cf. Robert Wood Williamson, *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* (Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 268 ff. ("The Gods of Play").

The mystery society in many ways is akin to the secret society. It usually develops, however, in more complex cultures and is marked by more highly differentiated theoretical concepts—myths, doctrine, and theology—a more elaborate ritual, and a deeper and more distinct feeling of solidarity, which find expression in the definition of the significance and purpose of the activities of the group. Attributing the origin of the society to a usually mythical founder is characteristic of the mystery, but not necessarily of the secret society. Many attempts have been made to determine whether Orpheus, the eponymous hero of the Orphic mystery society, ever existed or not.⁴³ A third state in the development of religious group life, that of the founded religion, emerges with religious groups who credit their first beginnings to definite historical characters; but there is no sharp cleavage between this and the previous types of religious organization.

Let us now examine the cultural atmosphere which is conducive to the organization of a mystery society. Political and sociological conditions of a special character tend to provide more fertile soil for its growth. A large geographical and political unit of comparatively complex character and with less pronounced or somewhat weakened religious centres provides an ideal background for such a development. The late Roman cult groups⁴⁴ and some Chinese societies,⁴⁵ most of which show Buddhist or Taoist influences, are rooted in such a soil.

Mystery groups may be of various types, all distinctly different from the age groups or the purely professional groups. Some are exclusively religious in character; others have additional political, social, or economic aims. These societies spring from genuine religious impulses, whether individual or collective, and develop by rallying select groups of followers and incorporating them into their fellowship. They may supplement the local and tribal religion or serve as an escape from it. The emphasis may either be placed on devotion without tampering with the theoretical aspect of traditional religion or be concerned with the development and interpretation of myth or theology. New principles of organization are developed by the devotees with or without

⁴³ Cf. Vittorio D. Macchioro, *Zagreus: Studi intorno all'orfismo* (Firenze, 1930); Erich Fascher, *Prophetes: Eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1927), pp. 54 ff.

⁴⁴ For an excellent characterization of their social background see La Piana, "Foreign Groups".

⁴⁵ Cf. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Chinese: Their History and Culture* (Macmillan, 1934), II, 169 ff., 199 ff. On the Buddhist Chinese associations see Joseph Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism* (London: Kegan Paul), chap. xvi, and below, chap. vi, sec. 7.

changes in the theoretical and practical structure. The system of natural division and socio-political orientation is thus modified by principles of religious selection and qualification. It has been said of the classical mysteries that "they not only denationalized religion but made religion a matter of personal choice, rendering it at once universal and individual, cosmic and personal".⁴⁶ Traditional authority is supplemented or superseded by a newly created one of distinctly religious character. The concept of rebirth plays an important part in the new ideology.⁴⁷ Mystery cults may be transitory or firmly established on a permanent basis. The secrecy connected with their cult is explainable by discrimination in the choice of followers, by the esoteric nature of their doctrine, by the exclusiveness of their ritual, and by their relation to the community as a whole. If the larger community should oppose the society on principle or on specific grounds, the desire for privacy as a means of protection and as security against persecution will be enhanced. The brotherhood of the Karmatians in Mohammedanism illustrates this point.⁴⁸ They were originally an ethnically distinct group, but became a cult society with special grades of initiation, a peculiar theology, and guild ritual. They are an instance of antagonism between the natural or traditional and the specifically religious organizations of society, a breach which became quite commonplace in the more complex cultures.

The classic mystery cults are to be found in the ancient Greco-Roman world.⁴⁹ Modern scholarship has done much to interpret their true nature and position in the religions from which they emerged and has thus contributed much to the study of the varieties of religious experience.⁵⁰ The mystery cult of Eleusis, originally "a secret cult exceptionally developed from family

⁴⁶ Samuel Angus, *The Religious Quests of the Greek-Roman World* (London: J. Murray, 1929), p. 79.

⁴⁷ Francis Macdonald Cornford, "Mystery Religions", *CAH*, IV (1926), 524.

⁴⁸ *El*, II, 767 ff. Cf. the initiation formula, *ibid.*, p. 770.

⁴⁹ A general discussion in Gustav Arrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen und sein Einfluss auf das Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhöck & Rupprecht, 1894); Nicola Turchi, *Le Religioni misteriosofiche del mondo antico* (Rome, 1923); Richard Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927); Angus, *Mystery-Religions and Religious Quests*, chap. v; La Piana, "Foreign Groups", esp. chaps. iv-v. Cf. also Otto Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926 ff.), esp. I, 7; II, 6; III, 9; and Cornford, "Mystery Religions", pp. 522 ff.; Julius Samter, *Familienfeste* (Berlin: G. Reiner, 1901), pp. 97 ff.; Lepper, *Famous Secret Societies*, chaps. i-v.

⁵⁰ In Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough's *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1935) an interesting attempt is made to outline the concepts and institutions of Hellenist Hebrew mystery cults. Cf. Benjamin Wisner Bacon, *The Gospel of the Hellenists*, ed. Carl H. Kraeling (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1933), chaps. viii, x; cf. also Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3rd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1926), chap. xxiii.

rites which once were limited to a circle according to the discretion of the family",⁵¹ is probably the oldest example in Greece of this type of specifically religious organization.⁵² It is linked with the locality⁵³ in which it originated and reveals evidences of a former tribal character. Its rites have many features in common with agricultural rites of more primitive societies like the Mexican, Chinese, and Indian.

Gilbert Murray distinguishes four stages in the development of the mystery religion. In the first period the mysteries were not specifically religious groups but "the religion of a whole pastoral or primitive agricultural people", in the second they became the faith of the lowest stratum of society, in the third they established themselves as private associations (belonging to the *religiones licitae* and covering the period from the introduction of Orphism into Greece down to the time of Caligula), and finally, in the fourth period, in Imperial times they became universal.⁵⁴

The Eleusis cult differs in significant respects from the general run of mystery societies in the richer nature of its religious experience, in the interpretation of this experience, and in the extension beyond its territorial boundaries towards a panhellenic movement.⁵⁵ It is interesting that the philosophical doctrines of the group grew out of ancient myths (Demeter-Kore) which lent themselves to reinterpretation suitable for deepened religious experiences and moral consciousness. "The religion of Apollo", according to Nilsson, "differs from all other Greek religions in having a missionary character."⁵⁶

A second example of Greek mystery religions is Orphism, in

⁵¹ Martin Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 245.

⁵² The classical monograph on this type of religion is Erwin Rohde, *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*, trans. W. B. Hillis (Kegan Paul, 1925); Nilsson, *op. cit.*, chap. vi; Angus, *Mystery-Religions*, pp. 10 ff.; Kern, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, chap. vi; Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (Oxford University Press, 1925), chap. iii; Nock, *Conversion*, esp. chap. ii.

⁵³ There were, related to the religions of Asia Minor, mystery cults in Minoan Crete. Cf. Helmut Berve, *Griechische Geschichte* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1931), I, 27-28; Nilsson, *op. cit.*, chap. v; and *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerays, 1927), pp. 506 ff., 558 ff.

⁵⁴ Cf. above, n. 52, and Angus, *Mystery-Religions*, p. 44. The effect of the period of Alexander in the creation of the "new cosmopolitism" and the "theocrasia", prepared by the effect of Greek-rationalistic-philosophy, is discussed by Angus, *ibid.*, pp. 10 ff., 15 ff. Cf. also Paul Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum* (3rd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1912), chaps. vi-ix.

⁵⁵ On the "adoption" into the Hellenic nation which was implied in a conversion to the Eleusinian cult by foreigners cf. La Piana, "Foreign Groups", p. 325.

⁵⁶ Nilsson, *Greek Religion*, p. 203. Cf. Fritz Wehrli, "Die Mysterien von Eleusis", *ARW*, XXI (1934), 77 ff.

whose tradition the mythical founder plays a significant part.⁵⁷ Here, as in the Dionysian cult,⁵⁸ reinterpretation of mythical concepts is often allegorical,⁵⁹ and its accompanying ritual unites the members into a religious association of very exclusive character.⁶⁰ Cosmogony, anthropology, eschatology, and soteriology were the main themes of speculation and eventually assumed the character of a mystical doctrine of the nature and destiny of the individual. This stage marks the abandonment of traditional collectivism and the formation of a specifically religious organization.

The Orgeones in Greece, according to Foucart, Ziebarth, and Poland,⁶¹ were free cultic associations probably local in origin and different from the traditional gentile groupings. Their rights and duties were already fixed by the law of Solon. Ziebarth has described the organization of the Orgeones of the Magna Mater in the Peiraeus, in Rhodes, and in Delos, with their statutes, sanctuaries, finances, assemblies, and officials.⁶² There is considerable difficulty in distinguishing between the *synodoi therapeuton* and the old identical cultic communities. The former appear to have been strong in Asia Minor.⁶³ Some *sympioseis* included only young men, others only men of the same profession. The latter appear to have been exceptionally exclusive (*sympiosis philia*).

It was as mystery cults that certain oriental cults, originally local or consanguineous, were introduced into Greece, the Roman Empire,⁶⁴ and even into the city of Rome. In their home countries they were the faiths of whole tribal or territorial sections of the

⁵⁷ Jane Ellen Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge University Press, 1903); Murray, *op. cit.*, chap. iii; Nilsson, *Greek Religion*, pp. 213-14; Rohde, *op. cit.*, chap. x; Vittorio D. Macchioro, *Zagreus, from Orpheus to Paul: A History of Orphism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930); Kern, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, chap. ix, "Alte und neue Mysterien"; Nock, *Conversion*, pp. 26 ff.; Martin Nilsson, "Early Orphism and Kindred Religious Movements", *HTHR*, XXVIII (1935), 182 ff.

⁵⁸ "Dionysos" (art.), in *RLM*, I, 1029 ff.; Nilsson, *Greek Religion*, pp. 205 ff.; Poland, *Vereinswesen*, pp. 196 ff.; Kern, *op. cit.*, III, 190 ff.; Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), Vol. V, chap. iv; *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* ("Gifford Lectures" (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921)), chap. xiv.

⁵⁹ Angus, *Mystery-Religions*, pp. 49 ff.

⁶⁰ On the mysteries of the Kabiri see: Kern, *op. cit.*, III, 208 ff.

⁶¹ Poland, *Vereinswesen*, pp. 8 ff., 16 ff. Cf. above, nn. 8 and 9, and below, n. 74.

⁶² Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, pp. 193 ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 205, and Poland, *Vereinswesen*, p. 35; Nock, *Conversion*, chaps. iii and iv. Cf. Sterling Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens", *HTHR*, XXX (1937), 183 ff.

⁶⁴ Franz Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum* (1914), English trans. (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1911); Reitzenstein, *Die Mysterienreligionen*; Foucart, *op. cit.*, Vol. II; Angus, *Mystery-Religions*; La Piana, "Foreign Groups", chaps. ii, iv, v.

population.⁶⁵ Worship of the "Great Mother" was a feature of tribal and local religions of Asia Minor; Mithra's home was in Iran, Serapis was a national Egyptian god.⁶⁶ These rites originated as national cults, but became mystery societies into which admission was less a matter of kinship or descent than of individual desire. Frequently they became one of the established cults.⁶⁷ La Piana, to whom we owe the best analysis of the late Roman cultic grouping from both points of view—that of the student of religion and that of the sociologist—has examined the process of foreign immigration in Rome⁶⁸ and the development of foreign settlements in the capital in detail, from Republican times into the Imperial era. He clearly discriminates between associations of primarily religious nature and those in which other factors were decisive (professional, social). The *cultores* of the former type are of special interest to us. Their double purpose was to provide for the national cult and to care for the dead.⁶⁹ A distinction must be made between strictly national cults and those with universal tendencies. With the general breaking-down of opposition against the cult of foreign deities and the rise of interest in it, which La Piana connects especially with the policy of the emperor Claudius and with the partial adaptation of the oriental cults to Roman standards, the way was open for non-nationals to join in a *sodalitas* of worshippers of a foreign deity, even to enter its priesthood.⁷⁰ Yet not the cults with distinct national flavour (Phrygian, Egyptian, African, etc.) but the soteriological mystery cults had the wider appeal. "The mystery cults introduced into Rome by foreigners and largely practised by them were not slow to claim universality and to open their ranks to applicants from the various groups of the cosmopolitan population of the city."⁷¹ La Piana emphasizes the "constant strain" of the conflict between keeping the racial and national character and becoming "truly universal" religions. The former tendency was "slow to die". The presupposition for a true universalism is well formulated by the same author. It implied, according to him, "the possession

⁶⁵ On Jewish mystery religion cf. E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light*, esp. chaps. ix, x; La Piana, *op. cit.*, chaps. vi-vii.

⁶⁶ Cf. Reitzenstein, *Mysterienreligionen*, pp. 23 ff., 28; La Piana, *op. cit.*, chap. iv.

⁶⁷ That is emphasized by Nock, *Conversion*, pp. 57-58 (more "acceptance" than "conversion").

⁶⁸ La Piana, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 ff., on foreign settlements in Rome; pp. 235 ff., on the history of private associations.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 272 ff.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 298 ff. Cf. there, pp. 324 and 336, on the predominance of Egyptian nationals in the Isis cult even in later days. For the following, see *ibid.*, chap. iv.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

of a religious moral content of universal value and of a religious organization which could make it possible for such a religion to interpenetrate and influence all the activities of individual and associated life, to formulate standards and programmes for social and political conduct, and to extend its teaching and practices all over the realities of this life as well as over the hopes of the life to come".⁷²

In Hellenistic Egypt cult associations of the Greek type, *thiasoi synodoi*, were known; in these, however, purely Egyptian gods were also worshipped. They were presided over by a *prostates* or *hiereus*.⁷³ United by common and often fervent faith in truths revealed in more highly developed theology, eschatology, and soteriology than had been advocated by their predecessors and by elaborate sacramental ritual, the participants shared intense religious experiences.⁷⁴

Therapeutai and Mystai are characteristically different; it is difficult to determine to what extent the followers of Dionysus had a strong organization.⁷⁵ Since we possess original documents—theologoumena, hymns, and liturgies⁷⁶—as well as descriptions by outsiders and intimates, we can appreciate the important role played by these associations in the religion of Imperial Rome.⁷⁷ The religious experience of the participants was undoubtedly more incisive and profound than that of those performing traditional rites. The idea of personal immortality seems to have been the core of the theology, and initiation and the sacraments the core of the worship in these new groups. Organization of a group on the principle of purely spiritual authority in turn necessarily leads to hierarchy based on charismatic distinction.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 356.

⁷³ On these associations in general and one, the Basilistoi of the second century, in particular, cf. Walter Gustav Albrecht Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905-8), I, 125 ff. Cf. Colin Roberts, Theodore C. Skeat, and Arthur Nock, "The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos", *HTHR*, XXIX (1936), 39. This group is really a worship, not an occupational, association.

⁷⁴ San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen*.

⁷⁵ Poland, *Vereinswesen*, pp. 36 ff. On the "technitai Dionysou" cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, 146 ff.

⁷⁶ Cf. Albrecht Dietrich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1910); Richard Reitzenstein, *Poimandres: Studien zur griechischen, ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1922); *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium, Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Weber, 1921).

⁷⁷ The intimacy of the solidarity of these groups (they considered themselves as a spiritual family) is illustrated by Arthur Nock, "The Historical Importance of Cult-Associations", *Classical Review*, XXXVIII (1924), 105 ff. Nock rightly stresses the fact that worship of the foreign deities did not by any means necessarily imply "conversion". Cf. his discussion of Toutain's appraisal of the relative strength of oriental religions in the Empire in *Conversion*, p. 130.

The cult of Mithra is the most striking example of a mystery religion. The brilliant studies of Cumont have thrown much light on the history, nature, and significance of this religion.⁷⁸ By virtue of its descent from traditional Iranian religion by a somewhat obscure process, it has preserved Zoroastrian elements. By discarding a number of theological concepts and cultic practices, by adding new elements, and by developing a more significant interpretation of the fundamentals of the faith, it found its way through Asia Minor into the Western world.⁷⁹ Aramaic, then Greek, and, later, Latin replaced the Iranian language. The cult of Ahura-Mazda, the supreme god, faded away as the figure of Mithra, the redeemed redeemer, came into the limelight. Greek speculative thought emphasized the doctrine of Aion,⁸⁰ as the sacrament of bread and wine became the symbolic expression of group fellowship. The group was divided into seven grades, culminating in the dignity of *pater patrum*.⁸¹ There seems to have been no conflict between Mithra and the official state religion, an event so common in other communities.⁸² On the contrary, even emperors were initiated, combining the new religion with the traditional one or, at least in their personal devotion, replacing the latter completely with the religion of Mithra.⁸³ Moreover, officers and soldiers of the Roman army participated in the worship of Mithra⁸⁴ either in groups or individually.

4. THE "SAMPRADAYA" OF HINDUISM

Hinduism presents the sociologist with a difficult task. It is questionable how we should classify the type of specifically religious organization represented in India by certain large

⁷⁸ Franz Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (Bruxelles: H. Lamartin, 1896 ff.); *The Mysteries of Mithra*. Cf. also A. Nock, *Conversion*; "Mithras" (art.), in *PWRE*, XV, No. 2, 2131 ff.; Nyberg, *Die Religionen*, chap. iii.

⁷⁹ *PWRE*, XV, 2134 ff.

⁸⁰ Heinrich F. Junker, "Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung", in *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, ed. Fritz Saxl (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1923, 1925); Cumont, *Mysteries*, pp. 107 ff.; "Aion" (art.), in Gerhard Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch*, I, 197 ff.; Arthur Darby Nock, "A Vision of Mandulis Aion", *HTHR*, XXVII (1934), 53 ff.

⁸¹ For the Mithraic grades see Cumont, *Mysteries*, pp. 152 ff.; their relation to the priesthood is uncertain (*PWRE*, XV, Part II, 2142).

⁸² Nock gives (*Conversion*, p. 75) five reasons for the fact that Mithraism alone remained a private yet fully approved cult.

⁸³ Cumont, *Mysteries*, pp. 85 ff.

⁸⁴ Chap. vi, sec. 7.

groups⁸⁵ such as the Vaishnava, who worship mainly Vishnu, or the Shaiva, who worship largely the mighty Shiva.⁸⁶ The composition of Hinduism is affected by many factors, not the least of which is religion.⁸⁷ No definition of a set of religious convictions or practices exists to define membership in this complex body.

In general, religions in India are traditionally classified under two heads—orthodox and heterodox, the outstanding of the latter being Buddhism and Jainism. A belief is heterodox which does not acknowledge the authority of the Veda and the sacred tradition, but there is within this frame ample room for an enormous variety of “orthodox” conceptions, rites, and communities. The majority of the Hindus do not belong to any distinctive group with theological and ritual unity. They are syncretistic in their ideas and actions. Even the various Vishnuite *sampradaya* are not as exclusive, for example, as are the Christian denominations.⁸⁸ The reason, of course, is the absence of any unifying conception similar to that of the Christian church.

According to Grierson,⁸⁹ the *Bhaktimala*, the *acta sanctorum* of Hinduism, enumerates as the essentials of religion: *bhakti* (faith), *bhakta* (devotee), *bhagavanta* (the adorable), *guru* (the teacher).⁹⁰ The characteristically Hindu notion of *Ishtadevata* indicates that a special deity is looked upon by the worshipper as patron, but not to the exclusion of other gods. The choice of this favourite god might be influenced by family tradition or by a religious teacher. Since individual choice does not necessarily lead to an association, it has no immediate bearing on the main organization as such. A devotee of Kali does not secede from the Shivaite congregation. The *sampradaya*, on the other hand, do influence the sociological development. *Sampradaya* is not translatable by

⁸⁵ Cf. George A. Grierson, “Bhakti-marga” (art.), in *ERE*, II, 539; Ramakrishna G. Bhandarkar, “Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Minor Religious Systems”, in *Grundriss der indoarischen Philologie*, ed. Georg Bühler (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1912), Vol. III, Part VI. Modes of worship; Margaret Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), chap. xiv on Shiva and chap. xv on Vishnu worship. Cf. K. A. N. Sastri, “A Historical Sketch of Saivism” and V. Rangacharya, “The Historical Evolution of Sri Vaishnavism in South India”, in *The Cultural Heritage of India* (Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial (Calcutta: Belur Math; New York: Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 1937) (cited hereafter as *CHI*), II, 18 ff.; 66 ff.).

⁸⁶ Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1921), Vol. II, chap. xxv.

⁸⁷ S. Radhakrishnan, “Hinduism”, in *Legacy of India*, ed. Garratt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), pp. 256 ff.

⁸⁸ Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, chap. xxvi.

⁸⁹ Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

⁹⁰ The essential prerequisites for a Vaishnava in the relation to the *guru* (*panchakala parayana*) are discussed by Rangacharya in *CHI*, II, 84.

the term "sect" or "denomination", because that implies secession from a larger body (church). The Indian term has not so much a negative as a positive connotation, implying a group with special concepts, forms of worship, and adherence to exclusive leadership exercised by an outstanding religious personality or by his physical or spiritual descendant. Grierson emphasizes the fact that the *sampradaya* are differentiated by "the preferences (*ruchi*) of particular teachers in laying emphasis on particular points, but form theoretically one body of Vishnu worshippers (Bhagavata), insisting on *bhakti* (emotional relation to the deity) in distinction to the intellectual Vedanta".⁹¹

The basis of the organization is, of course, a special religious experience, which may be traceable to an inspired or divine mythological or historical figure, as in Vishnuism (Vishnu-Krishna-Vasudeva), or which may go back to a dim past (Shivaism and Shaktism).⁹² The *sampradaya* of the Vaishnava trace their foundation to some eminent religious teachers, the *alvars*⁹³ and the *acharyas*: Ramanuja, Madhva, Nimbadiya, Vallabha, Chaitanya,⁹⁴ who together worshipped the deity of Vishnuism, but conceived of it in their own individual fashions. We owe to Rudolf Otto⁹⁵ a translation of the *Sakalacharya-matasamgrahah* (the teachings of all the masters or *acharya*).⁹⁶ This document contains an exposition of the systems of Ramanuja (founder of the Srisampradaya), the disciple of Yamuna-Muni and famous commentator on the Vedanta-Sutra, particularly popular in the south of India; of Nimbadiya, the founder of the Sanakadi-sampradaya; of Madhva, the master of the Brahma-sampradaya, which tries, like its Shivaite founder, to harmonize Vishnuism and Shivaism; and of Vishnu-Svamin (Rudra-sampradaya), which later became the

⁹¹ Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

⁹² C. Chakravarti Kavyatirtha, "Sakti Worship and the Sakta Saints of Bengal", *CHI*, II, 291 ff.; Wilber Theodore Elmore, *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism* ("University of Nebraska Studies", Vol. XV (Lincoln, Neb., 1915)), chap. v: "The Shaktas".

⁹³ On the twelve Tamil *alvars*, the great saints and singers of the seventh to ninth century A.D. preceding the *acharya*, and their teaching, cf. V. Rangacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff., 78 ff. They were more "democratic" than the Brahmins. "The great feature of the doctrine is that it extends the consolation of religion to all sorts of people."

⁹⁴ On Chaitanya and the development of his *sampradaya* in Bengal see Govinda Nath, "A Survey of the Sri Chaitanya Movement", *CHI*, II, 131 ff., esp. pp. 152 ff.

⁹⁵ Rudolf Otto, *Vishnu-Narayana: Texte zur indischen Gottesmystik*, Vol. I in *Religiöse Stimmen der Völker*, ed. Walter Otto (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1917) (cited hereafter as "Otto, *Vishnu-Narayana*").

⁹⁶ On the *mantra* (sacred formula) and the sectarian marks of the different communities of Hinduism, see *ERE*, XI, 531, and II, 546. The *mulamantra* is the sacred initiatory formula (*ERE*, XI, 91).

basis of Vallabha's doctrine. These great teachers became the centre of a group under their leadership which later was re-organized anew with an ethos, tradition, and symbols of its own. The acharyaship in Vishnuism, with its twofold task of interpreting the holy writ and of defending the faith, goes back to Natha Muni, the first *acharya*. Ramanujacharya and Vedanta-Deshika, his successor in the Vadakalai tradition (thirteenth century), became the object of worship themselves, presumably with their consent.⁹⁷ Similarly, the different Shaiva groups,⁹⁸ united in the worship of the terrible aspect of the deity, trace their origin back to the specific experiences of various great ascetics, e.g., Nakulisha, the founder of the Pashupata, and Gorakshanatha of the Kaupata-Yogi. Shivaism produced, on the whole, fewer divisions than did Vishnuism.

One of the most important subdivisions is that of the Lingayat,⁹⁹ founded in the twelfth century by Barava. It numbers several millions of followers, who are distinguished by the emblem they wear, the phallus. They are of Dravidic stock and represent a reaction against the Brahmanic system. They are critical of the supremacy of the Brahmins and the caste system and once aimed, though unsuccessfully, at the equality of all classes. They have eight sacraments (*astavarna*). The Lingayat are now subdivided. The highest caste consists of those who have gone through all the eight stages (Panchamsali), with the marriage taboos affecting the priest and leading traders. The professional classes are endogamous. There also is a third class, which has no characteristic rites but which admits castes which in the Hindu definition are "unclean castes". The Lingayat thus originally represented an attempt to establish a casteless society united by the worship of Shiva. Later, however, it became subdivided into strong caste divisions held together by newly conceived religious loyalties. In still later times membership in the community depended not merely upon the worship of Shiva but also upon investiture with the *linga*, a ceremony which did not affect one's

⁹⁷ On the later development of the Vadakalai cf. Rangacharya, *CHI*, II, 83 ff., 96 ff., who discusses the Ahobila Matha founded by Srinivasa (fourteenth century) and the Munitraya Sampradaya, the more rigoristic of the two, as well as the Tenkalai line of succession including the great Pillai Locacharya (fourteenth century). Cf. also Otto, *Vishnu-Narayana*, pp. 102 ff.

⁹⁸ See "Saivism" (art.), in *ERE*, XI, 91 ff., and Hilko W. Schomerus, *Der Caiva-Siddhanta* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912). Cf. S. Satchidanandam Pillai, "The Saiva Saints of Southern India", in *CHI*, II, 235 ff., discussing the lives and teachings of the Shaiva *acharya* (masters), including the great Manikkavachaka, down to the nineteenth century.

⁹⁹ *ERE*, VIII, 70. For the caste differentiation cf. below, chap. vi, secs. 2 and 3.

status (caste taboos against intermarriage and eating together still prevailed). Here characteristic cultic, devotional, and ascetic practices, as well as certain theological peculiarities, served to integrate the group.

In spite of obvious structural resemblances between this type of religious association and the mystery societies, groups like the Vallabha-sampradaya, with its highly developed theology, sacramental practices, and strongly organized spiritual leadership, belong to a separate sociological type, constituting a transition group from the mystery cult to the highest and most complex type of fellowship.

Two other institutions also can be considered as part of the transition group: the Mahayana "schools" of Buddhism and the so-called "sects" of private or denominational Shinto. The former never gained independent status, but remained as formations within the larger Buddhist community.¹⁰⁰ The groups of private Shinto,¹⁰¹ although independent, were never important enough to be placed on a par with the great founded religions. They resemble rather the *sampradaya* in their emphasis on special features of the common faith such as a preference for characteristic deities. The Confucian groups in denominational Shinto are more syncretistic and lack distinctive character. The pure Shinto groups, which emphasize nationalistic and patriotic views; the mountain sects, which stress the practical aspects of religion; the purification schools, which lay great stress on ritual, and the faith-healing groups all reflect variations and reformations of traditional Shinto¹⁰² and will be discussed later.

5. THE FOUNDED RELIGION

The study of religion has occasionally suffered from the antagonism between the two schools of thought conveniently labelled as the individualistic and the collectivistic. According to the latter, religious development is conditioned mostly by the group and its activity; influential individuals are only instruments and representatives of the group will. The former maintains that

¹⁰⁰ On the development of the earlier groups in Buddhism (Mahasamghika and Sthavira) and the beginnings of the Mahayana schools, cf. the interesting studies of Jean Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagṛha: introduction à l'histoire des canons et des sectes bouddhiques* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1926), chap. iv; also Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, *Bouddhisme: opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique* ("Études sur l'histoire des religions" (4th ed.; Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1925)), pp. 17 ff.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, Part II. He discusses thirteen of these "sects", three of which have no authentic historical founder, only "reorganizers".

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, chaps. xiv-xviii.

individual impulse and creativity determine group activity and that are the only valid criterion for historical interpretation.¹⁰³

Actual history, however, reveals no such clear-cut distinctions. Outstanding personalities endowed with unique religious capacities play an important role even in collective-minded primitive society. Mystery cults trace their origin to a mythical or historical founder, however vaguely and shadowily he may be portrayed. Examples of mixed types can be found in the Jaina conception of the *tirthamkara* (pathfinder), their sequence of divine masters.¹⁰⁴ The last of these, Mahavira, was definitely historical; his predecessor, Parshvanatha, may have been. Similarly, Hindu community traditions contain partly mythical, partly historical figures, such as the line of *acharyas* (masters) in Vishnuism, particularly in the Vishishtadvaita school, and in Shivaism. The Ramanuja received their doctrine from the goddess Shri, who taught the divine Vishvakana, whose descendant eight generations later was Ramanuja, the great theologian.¹⁰⁵

Should a doubt remain as to the decisive role played by leading religious personalities,¹⁰⁶ a study of the great founded religions will remove it. The changes, here effected through personal initiative, are tremendous; and, even if we allow for the embellishment of the lives of the founders in legend and tradition, their influence on the great communities which they called into being must be termed prodigious.¹⁰⁷ Again Bieler's illuminating study of the *Gottesmann* of the ancient world (*theios aner*)¹⁰⁸ should be mentioned,¹⁰⁹ for it does more justice to individual differences between the

¹⁰³ Thomas Carlyle's famous treatise on heroes, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, illustrates this view (cf. his chapter on Mohammed). It was also strongly expressed by Gottfried Arnold (Erich Seeberg, *Gottfried Arnold* (Meerane i. Sa.: E. R. Herzog, 1923), pp. 145 ff., 79 ff.: die "Lehrer"). For a modern treatment cf. Ralph Taylor Flewelling, *The Survival of Western Culture* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1943), Sec. I.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Jarl Charpentier, "Die Legende des heiligen Parshva" (text and trans.), *ZDMG*, LXIX (1915), 321 ff.; Maurice Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour Parshva* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1919); Margaret Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1915), on the twelve earlier *tirthamkara*.

¹⁰⁵ Otto, *Vishnu-Narayana*, pp. 73-74. Cf. above, sec. 4.

¹⁰⁶ The importance of the individual initiative of religious leaders—in distinction from environmental conditions—is stressed by Ellsworth Faris, "The Sect and the Sectarian", in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ On Chang Ling, the patriarch of the Taoists, cf. J. J. M. de Groot, "The Origin of the Taoist Church", *TiChR*, I (1908), 138 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Bieler, *Theios Aner*.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. also L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero-Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921). In chap. v, seven types of this concept are discriminated. On the heroes of divine origin cf. *ibid.*, chap. ii; on historical figures, chap. iii; and, on "real persons", chap. xiii.

Divine Men than many studies of the extreme *religionsgeschichtliche* school. In many respects the concept of the *theios aner*, formulated in Hellenistic times and widely current in the Empire, prepares the way for the great founders. Heroes, kings, seers and priests, poets and philosophers, *kathartai* and magicians have been regarded as such *theioi andres*. Sociologically, although never theologically, they can be, indeed, compared to the great founders.

The history of the world religions is an important aspect of world history, and the epoch marking the founding of each inaugurates a momentous historical development. The new religious experiences of the great founders were translated into far-reaching thought and action as well as into new conceptions of group solidarity. We shall now proceed to analyse the sociological implications of the activities of these "divine men" and trace the effects of their work upon the organizational structure of society.

There have been many inspired leaders in the history of religion. Some have contented themselves with casting their revelations in traditional forms, with renewing, revitalizing, and reforming faith and worship by a change in emphasis or by the introduction of novelties in thought, practice, or social organization. These persons are variously called Prophets, Reformers, Masters, and Teachers and appear with varying frequency among different peoples, nations, and religions. Our concern here is with the great founded religions, with those from which sprang a profound, fresh, new religious experience: Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, and Taoism.¹¹⁰ In spite of the smaller numbers of their adherents, Sikhism, Babism, and similar religions can also be counted in this group, inasmuch as they are more than reform movements.

In approaching social phenomena as complex as the great founded religions, we had best begin with a review of the genesis of

¹¹⁰ It is not possible to include in our review of the founded religions, all of which have produced a more or less sacred literature, references to the primary ("normative") and secondary (historical) sources of canonical and semi-canonical authority in the various religious groups. Such references will be found for Christianity in Cecil John Cadoux, *The Early Church and the World* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1925); for the great non-Christian faiths, in the monographs referred to in our Part I. Cf. also Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg im Breisgau and St. Louis, Mo.: Herder, 1913-32); Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Weimar: E. Felber, 1898-1902); Moritz Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Vol. II: *Die buddhistische Literatur und die heiligen Texte der Jainas* (1920) (Eng. trans.; Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1927-33); Clarence H. Hamilton, *Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan: A Reading-Guide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

these new communities. In so doing, we must attempt to interpret their development, at least in the early phases, as the interaction between experience and the ideas projected upon it. Ideals of fellowship and communion result from the central experience of its founder and are concretized in the structure and organization of the group.¹¹¹ The attitudes of the various groups gathered about the central figure of the founder necessarily vary, but there are interesting parallels in the growth and formations of the societies infused by his spirit.

A sociological study of the personalities of the great founders of religion involves a difficulty which must be clearly recognized. The sociologist, though not called upon to deny or confirm religious claims, cannot ignore them. In estimating the effects of the initiative of the founders, their own theological claims must be taken into account, because the sociological effectiveness of their work is dependent on the significance which they attach to themselves and to their message. The mutual interaction between theology, which formulates the basic concepts for the interpretation of a religious experience; the history of religions, which describes its manifestations and developments; psychology of religion, which analyses its subjective aspects; and sociology of religion, which analyses the nature and variety of the grouping which it produces, thus become evident.

6. (a) THE CIRCLE OF DISCIPLES

From the biographies of the great founders—Jesus, the Buddha,¹¹² the Jina,¹¹³ Zoroaster,¹¹⁴ Mani,¹¹⁵ Mohammed, Confucius,¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ The process of integration of social groups, which Ralph Linton (*Study of Man*, (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), chap. vii) analyses very well as to its subjective aspect (*esprit de corps*), is here repeated.

¹¹² R. Otto Franke, "Die Buddhalehre in ihrer erreichbar ältesten Gestalt", *ZDMG*, LXXI (1917), 50 ff.

¹¹³ On the Ganadharas of Jainism cf. Jarl Charpentier, "The History of the Jains", in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, chap. vi, esp. pp. 164 ff.; Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, chap. iv.

¹¹⁴ Abraham Valentine Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster* (New York and London: Macmillan Co., 1899); and Henrik Samuel Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938), chap. ii.

¹¹⁵ Francis Crawford Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees* (Cambridge University Press, 1925); Hans Heinrich Schäfer, *Die Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, ed. F. Saxl (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927), pp. 68 ff.; Hans Jacob Polotsky, *Abriss des manichäischen Systems*, *PWRE*, suppl., VI (1934), 241 ff., 243; Christensen, *op. cit.*, chap. iv; A. V. W. Jackson, "The Personality of Mani, the Founder of Manichaeism", *JAOS*, LVIII (1938), 235.

¹¹⁶ Otto Franke, "Der geschichtliche Konfuzius", *ZDMG*, LXXIX (1929), 163 ff.; Franz Xaver Biallas, *Konfuzius und sein Kult: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Chinas* (Peking and Leipzig: Peking Verlag, 1928); John Knight Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius: An Introductory Study* (New York and London: Century Co., 1932), esp. pp. 9, 100 ff.

and Laotse¹¹⁷—we learn that, following a decisive religious experience interpreted as a “call” or at a particular age or period in their careers, they began to enlist disciples.¹¹⁸ Some of these joined their masters spontaneously, while others were drafted (called). The first disciples in each circle have differed widely from one another in character and in social, cultural, and intellectual background.¹¹⁹ They also differed in temperament and in moral standards as well as in their devotion and attachment to their masters.¹²⁰ We know a good deal about the character and activities of some of the outstanding disciples of Jesus, the Buddha, Mahavira, Mohammed, Zoroaster, Mani, and the great Chinese thinkers and are somewhat acquainted with the role they played in the groups destined to be the seed of new, world-wide religious communities.

The group which the man of God attracts about him may appear as a loosely connected association or as a closely knit unit,

¹¹⁷ On Lao-tse cf. particularly Richard Wilhelm, *Lao-tse und der Taoismus*, in *Frommanns Klassiker der Philosophie*, Vol. XXVI (Stuttgart: Fr. Frommann, 1925). For a very good translation and commentary on the *Tao-te-king* cf. Alberto Castellani, “La Regola celeste di Lao-tse”, in *Bibliotheca Sansoni*, ed. Guido Manacorda (Firenze: G. S. Sansoni, 1927).

¹¹⁸ A good synopsis of the lives of the great founders is offered in Millar Burrows, *Founders of Great Religions* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931). All important material and bibliographies are included in the following more recent monographs: Edward Joseph Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1927); Ernst Windisch, *Buddhas Geburt* (1909) and *Mara und Buddha* (Leipzig: E. Hirzel, 1895); Jackson's classical biography of Zoroaster (cf. above, n. 114). For the cult of Zoroaster see *The Zardusht-nama*, trans. F. Rosenberg (1904), and Nyberg, *Religionen*, pp. 301 ff. Mohammed's life is written by Frants Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1930), and Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds im Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde* (“Archives d'études orientales”, Vol. XVI (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1918)), and *Mohammed: The Man and His Faith*, trans. Theophil Menzel (London and New York: Allen & Unwin, 1936).

¹¹⁹ For a comparative study of the circle of disciples of the great founders see Joachim Wach, *Meister und Jünger* (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1925); and “Jüngerschaft”, in *RGK*, III, 504 ff. The *theios aner* (cf. Pythagoras) also had his circle of disciples: Bieler, *Theios Aner*, pp. 122 ff.

¹²⁰ The apocryphal acts of the various apostles provide interesting material for the study of the personality and the activities of the different great disciples. Cf. Walter Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der Apokryphen* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1909); Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Primitive Church, with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry* (Macmillan, 1929), chap. ii; Roland Schütz, *Apostel und Jünger* (1921); Rosa Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932). Older, but still valuable, are: R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (Braunschweig, 1882), and Theodor Schermann, *Propheten und Apostellegenden* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907); James Rendel Harris, *The Twelve Apostles* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1927); W. H. Hatch, “The Apostles in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiastical Tradition in Egypt”, *HTThR*, XXI (1928), 147 ff. For a bibliography of the great Buddhist disciples, Sariputta, Mogallana, Rahula, Ananda, Kassapa, etc., according to the Pali and the Sanskrit tradition, see *ERE* and Wach, *Meister und Jünger*, pp. 60 ff. On the Chinese concepts of the (eighteen) “Lohan” see Karl Ludwig Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1927), p. 191.

bound together by a common religious experience whose nature is revealed and interpreted by the founder.¹²¹ A growing sense of solidarity both binds the members together and differentiates them from any other form of social organization. Such a fellowship might be called a *circle*, indicating that it is orientated towards a central figure with whom each of the disciples is in intimate contact. The double significance of the founder as the first recipient of the new vision from which the fellowship draws its inspiration and guidance and, more generally, as the instrument of supernatural power and grace is reflected in the reaction of his followers and the variety of functions performed by them. The disciples may be regarded as companions of the founder, bound to him by personal devotion, friendship, and loyalty. One of the disciples is often singled out as the master's intimate confidant and is specially entrusted with his personal well-being.¹²² The disciples as a group, however, represent not only the companions but also the apostles of the founder, and all are responsible for the successful realization of the master's vision.¹²³ They support the master by their sympathy and aid him in his ministry by testifying to him and his message and by spreading his gospel. The number of his followers always exceeds the number of apostles and disciples.¹²⁴ The followers may share partially or temporarily in the community life which characterizes the new group. Membership in the group may require a complete break with the ordinary pursuits of life and a radical change in social and religious relationships. Ties of family and kinship and loyalties of various kinds are at least temporarily relaxed or severed.¹²⁵ Buddhism illustrates that. The *pabbajja*, or leaving, is prerequisite for the *upasampada*, or the arrival on the other shore, and those who leave form the new *samgha* (communion). The statement of Jesus

¹²¹ Cf. the discussion of the creation of new social groups by Linton, *Study of Man*, pp. 96-97.

¹²² The "beloved disciple" of the Fourth Gospel; Ananda in the Buddhist community ("Ananda" (art.), in *ERE*, I, 419); Maidhyomaonha, the "John" of the Zoroastrian circle (Jackson, *op. cit.*, chap. vi); Yen Hui, the favourite disciple of Kung-tse.

¹²³ A careful study of the meaning of the term "apostle" is in Thomas Martin Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in Early Centuries* ("Cunningham Lectures: XVII Series" (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917)), pp. 74 ff. Wider and narrower use, *ibid.*, p. 85.

¹²⁴ On the "seventy others" cf. Adolf von Harnack, *Sources of the Apostolic Canon*, trans. Leonard A. Wheatley (London: A. & C. Black, 1895).

¹²⁵ On the immediate two successors of Mani, his disciples Sis and Frmaios, better known through recent discoveries, cf. Christensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95, 174 ff. The chief disciple of the Jina was Indrabhuti. His conversion story is told by Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 61-62.

that those who "do the will of God" and not his blood relations are truly his brothers, sisters, and mothers (Mark iii, 31 ff.; Matt. xii, 47 ff.; Luke viii, 18 ff.) is paralleled by the Buddha's: "For some persons even father and mother are no hindrances" (*Visuddhimagga*).¹²⁶ Similar views prevail in the circle of the divine men: the Pythagorean *philia* of which Iamblichus tells us has been compared¹²⁷ to the groups of "brotherly love" in Christian monasticism and to the *conceptio fraterna* of the Benedictine monks.

The hardships, suffering, persecution, and even martyrdom which loom for those who cast their lot with the new group are counterbalanced by their high hopes and firm expectations. The great, new experience which dictated the decision to leave everything and follow the call requires a revised attitude towards the nature of ultimate truth as well as towards the world and its inhabitants.¹²⁸

The circles of Jesus,¹²⁹ the Buddha, and Mohammed were united by exceptionally close bonds of solidarity. A new sense of responsibility developed within each of them which later became the basis of Christian, Buddhist, and Mohammedan ethics.¹³⁰ Among the Mohammedans the term *ashab* (companions of the prophet)¹³¹ was formerly restricted to those who had enjoyed personal acquaintance with the prophet; later the designation was more broadly used. Among the *ashab* the four rightly guided *khalifas* and six others stand out because of Mohammed's assurance that "already they lived of Paradise". The *ashab* have in Sunnite Islam a rank as sources of authentic religious practice (*Sunna*).

¹²⁶ Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translation* ("Harvard Oriental Series", Vol. III (Oxford University Press, 1896)), sec. 97.

¹²⁷ Bieler, *Theios Aner*, pp. 125-26.

¹²⁸ M. Weber (*G.A.*, I, 523) declares the breaking of tribal bonds, the establishment of the superiority of the community of faith over blood even with regard to the family, to be the great achievement of the "ethical" religions. Cf. also Luigi Sturzo, *Church and State*, trans. B. B. Carter (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939), chap. i, sec. 1.

¹²⁹ Cf., in general, Frederick John Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1922 ff.); on the name "the Disciples" (of Jesus) ("saints", "brethren", etc.), cf. Adolf von Harnack, *The Constitution and Laws of the Church in the First Two Centuries*, trans. F. L. Pogson (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Williams & Norgate, 1910), pp. 6 ff. Cf. also *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, I (Freiburg i. Br.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1894), pp. 73 ff.; Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff. and esp. Cadoux, *The Early Church*, esp. Parts I and II. Cf. also below, n. 180.

¹³⁰ In each of the great religions later conceptions, ideals, and standards are reflected in the legendary tradition on the nature and the members of the founders' circle. Cf. the copiously documented examination of the attitude of the first Christian generations toward the "world" and their ethical orientation in theory and practice particularly with regard to family life, property, and war in Cadoux, *The Early Church*.

¹³¹ On the authors of Arabic works dealing with the *ashab* (companions), see *EI*, IV, 477 ff. Cf. Eduard Sachau's edition of Mohammad Ibn Sad's famous book, *Biographien Muhammads, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams* (Leyden, 1904 ff.).

The circle is not strictly organized, but the variety of individualities and the differences in age are harbingers of future differentiation of function among the members. Even in the early days the outstanding disciples enjoy special privileges and join the so-called "inner circle".¹³² Members of the circle, however, are oriented in thought and action towards the dominating figure of the founder, in whom final spiritual and disciplinary authority rests.

It is noteworthy that the life of the new group is integrated from the start by simple rites and religious practices (meditation, prayer, singing, exhortations). These may be taken over from existing cults and re-interpreted according to the new experience (the Jewish Kiddush, which was apparently practised by but finally transformed by Jesus and his disciples,¹³³ the visit to the Kaaba by Mohammed, the investment with the sacred girdle of Zoroaster), or they might be created *ad hoc* like the Buddhist Patimokkha (confession).¹³⁴ Whatever their origin, the new concepts summarize the faith and hopes of the group, a new symbolism gives expression to its solidarity, and a new attitude determines its future course. From the social as well as the religious point of view these are very important developments. A new religion is in the process of formation.¹³⁵

7. (b) THE BROTHERHOOD

The immediate crisis which marks the birth of a new epoch in the development of the infant religion and causes its structural transformation is the death of the founder. The solidarity of the circle had been dependent on him; he directed, sustained, and carried it as long as he lived. With his passing, new problems appear. What is to be the meaning of discipleship, now that there is no more master? How can new adherents be obtained

¹³² In the New Testament that is clearly traceable; cf. the role of John, Peter, James (Mark ix, 2 ff.; iv, 10 ff.; v, 37).

¹³³ William Oscar Emil Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), discusses Jesus and his apostles in connection with the synagogue and the three forms of worship in early Christianity: (1) public (in the temple), (2) private (in the house), the latter consisting of prayer and of breaking the bread (pp. 95 ff.). Cf. also Alexander B. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1934); Felix Cirlot, *The Early Eucharist* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1939).

¹³⁴ In the recent reinterpretation of the original (pre-Vinaya) meaning and content of the Buddhist celebration cf. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagaha*, pp. 239 ff.

¹³⁵ On the concept of the "disciple company" often renewed since Ignatius, who favoured it particularly, in the Christian church, cf. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 190.

for the movement? Personal discipleship, originally a *sine qua non*, can no longer be a prerequisite,¹³⁶ although the remaining disciples gain considerably in prestige and authority.¹³⁷ The emphasis now rests on the new message, the new attitude, the new spirit, and the new tradition which have been left behind with the passing of the founder. The latter will always be regarded as a personality *sui generis*,¹³⁸ and since his role can neither be repeated nor imitated and since no potential candidate can ever match his charisma and prestige, there can be no "succession".¹³⁹ No disciple of any great founder, whether of Jesus or of the Buddha or of Mani, could or did claim equal charisma with the master (only Baha Ullah, the successor to the Bab, the founder of Babism, made a higher claim, but conditions here are different).¹⁴⁰ The impression of the unique character of the founder had from the first animated his disciples; it now brings about an important transformation which can be traced in practically every one of the great founded religions. It was to exert great influence on their further development. The founder himself becomes an object of worship. Belief or trust in him and in his mission comes to be regarded as the shibboleth or criterion of membership in the group,¹⁴¹ which now ceases to be a circle and becomes a *brotherhood*.

These new sociological units vary in their interpretation of

¹³⁶ On Paul's concept cf. Karl Holl, "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus", in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)), II, 44 ff. The problem of the primary and secondary discipleship is penetratingly discussed by Søren Kierkegaard, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Chr. Schrempf (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1922), Vol. VI, sec. 4.

¹³⁷ Cf. the account of canonical and extra-canonical Acts, and of the Buddhist chronicles. Cf. also "Saints (Buddhist)" (art.), *ERE*, XI, 49 ff. The prominence of Ananda in the earliest and Mahakashyapa in the somewhat later Buddhist tradition is convincingly interpreted by Przyluski, *op. cit.*, p. 257 ("L'Expulsion d'Ananda"). Cf. there (Part I) the translation of the most important Chinese documents pertaining to the first council, the study of which will readily correct some of the traditional views based on a one-sided preference for the Pali texts. Cf. also Walter Eugene Clark, "Some Problems in the Criticism of the Sources for Early Buddhist History", *HTHR*, XXIII (1930), 121 ff.

¹³⁸ Cf. the discussions regarding the meaning of *mahasattva* ("great being"), *lokottara* ("superior to the world"), etc., in Buddhist dogmatics: De la Vallée-Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, pp. 232 ff.

¹³⁹ That is the "earlier" view. In later Buddhism foreign (mainly Hindu) influences led to the multiplication of saving figures which is only slightly suggested in the earlier development (cf. "Bodhisattva" (art.), in *ERE*, II, 741 ff.). The same happened in the Mohammedan Shia (again fostered by outside speculation). On the controversies on the nature of the founder in the different great faiths, see below, sec. 12.

¹⁴⁰ Hermann Römer, *Die Babi-Bahai* (Potsdam: Deutsche Orient Mission, 1912); *EI*, I, 545 ff., 572 ff.; William McElwee Miller, *Bahaism: Its Origin, History, Teachings* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1931). Both leaders (Bab and Baha-ullah) were influenced by the above-mentioned Shiite (heretical) theology.

¹⁴¹ Excellent remarks pertaining to this topic are in Nock, *Conversion*, p. 210.

their own nature and function. Indeed, the first Christian,¹⁴² Mohammedan,¹⁴³ Buddhist, and Zoroastrian brotherhoods differed greatly in their character, constitution, purpose, and in the theological interpretation of their communion. It was conceivable that all those bound by the same experience and tradition could form *one* large group, or local independent bodies could be set up.¹⁴⁴ The Mohammedan conception of the *ummah* of the faithful led by their *imam* (*khalifa*) illustrates the first type; the Buddhist *samgha*,¹⁴⁵ the latter.

"The central organization and the local organizations", says Harnack of the early Christian church, "are in perpetual strife with one another, just because each needs the other, and the death of one must of necessity involve the death of the other."¹⁴⁶ Without committing ourselves to any one of the theories of the origin and nature of the early *ecclesia*,¹⁴⁷ we may safely say that the condition for membership in the brotherhood is usually originally more spiritual than organizational.¹⁴⁸ The tendency towards organization, however, is never absent, being apparent to a certain degree even in the "circles".

The brotherhood is similar to the circle in its spiritual and charismatic constitution. The "protests" of reform groups

¹⁴² Cadoux, *The Early Church*, Part II: "The Earlier Apostolic Age". Cf. Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, trans. George Brenner and W. D. Morrison (London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904). Still valuable is C. Schmidt, *The Social Results of Early Christianity*, trans. R. W. Dale (London: Wm. Isbister, Ltd., 1885), Book II. Cf. W. A. Visser't Hooft and J. H. Oldham, *The Church and Its Function in Society* (London: Allen & Unwin; Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1937), pp. 11 ff., against individualistic historical construction.

¹⁴³ On the Mohammedan *ummah* (community) cf. *EI*, IV, 1075-76; David Samuel Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914); Ignaz Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1925), chaps. ii and iii; Carl Heinrich Becker, "Christianity and Islam, Past and Present", *RR*, I (1936), 3 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, pp. 50 ff., emphasizes the local differences and views the historical process of the development of the first five centuries as a "progressive standardization". Equal emphasis (from a "conciliarist" point of view) in Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 41, 155.

¹⁴⁵ Przyłuski, *Le Concile de Rajagṛha*, esp. chap. iii.

¹⁴⁶ Harnack, *The Constitution*, pp. 42 ff., 47. Cf. his derivation of the term "parish" from the phrase "the Church of God which sojourneth in the city" (p. 47).

¹⁴⁷ The evidence of the *Didache* versus Ignatius in matters of church order is discussed by Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, chap. v, and by Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, Lect. V.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. the analysis of different conceptions of the "church" in Christianity, by William Adams Brown, *The Church, Catholic and Protestant: A Study of Differences That Matter* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), esp. chaps. iv, x, v, vii. See also Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, *Christian Institutions* ("International Theological Library", ed. C. A. Briggs (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909)); "Religious Institutions" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 246 ff.; Louis Marie Olivier Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925), Vol. I; Cyrus Charles Richardson, *The Church through the Centuries* (London and New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938).

frequently aim, as we shall see later, at the restoration of this primitive state. This is true of the reform movements within the large religious bodies as well as of orders and sects. In the latter the imitation aims frequently not only at the recapture of the spirit but also at the copying of details of the practice of the initial phase.¹⁴⁹ The brotherhood evidences also the development towards ecclesiastical organization in the steady growth of its doctrine, cult, and organization,¹⁵⁰ which will finally transform the subjective or personal organization into an objective one.¹⁵¹

Within the brotherhood are freedom and simplicity; no definite demarcations and limitations exist, and there is a receptiveness to new ideas, impressions, and influences in this age of the spirit.¹⁵² The prestige of the great charismatic leaders (apostles, companions, prophets) still prevails and only gradually fades away. Renewals of charismatic practices recur at intervals.¹⁵³ The new common religious experience begins to be formulated according to the norms set by the founder. Theology breaks through its shell and begins its perpetual task of interpreting, constructing, and systematizing tradition. The similarities in methods, trends, and subject matter of early Christian, Mohammedan, and Zoroastrian theology are striking.¹⁵⁴ Simple symbols are designed to express dramatically the same truths which theology wrestles with intellectually.¹⁵⁵ Modes of worship develop from elementary

¹⁴⁹ See below, secs. 10-12.

¹⁵⁰ Harnack, *The Constitution*. According to Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 56, gradual standardization displaces an earlier diversity (cf. esp. chap. v).

¹⁵¹ The problem of "perpetuation" of new groups is studied in general by Linton, *Study of Man*, pp. 98-99, 107.

¹⁵² On the working of the *pneuma*, cf. Hans Lietzmann, "An die Korinther", *TWNT*, Sec. IX (3rd ed.; Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1931), pp. 66 ff.

¹⁵³ Cf. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, Lects. III and VI; Holl, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 63 ff. On the history of prophecy in the second century in the Christian church which tries to keep or renew this state (Montanism and its end), cf. Duchesne, *op. cit.*, chap. xv. For the Middle Ages see Paul Alphandéry, "Prophète et ministère prophétique dans le Moyen Âge latin", *RHP*, XII (1932), 334 ff.

¹⁵⁴ See Adolf von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1888 ff.), English trans. by N. Buchanan as *History of Dogma* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1894); Arthur Gushman McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), Vol. I; *The God of the Early Christians* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924); Duncan Black Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), Part III; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, chaps. ii and iii; Nyberg, *Religionen*.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Evelyn Underhill, *Worship*, chap. xi: "The Beginnings of Christian Worship"; A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, Book III; Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, esp. chap. vi: "The Antecedents of the Eucharist". Cf. also Alexander G. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church*. In Buddhism very little cult existed at first. On the Pravarana and five early Panchavarsika see Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagṛha*, chap. iii; Arent Jan Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 20, 23; cf. the development of the "Pillars of Islam" and the Shahada, *ibid.*, chap. ii.

forms of prayer, adoration, and song, as practised and recommended by the founder and his original circle of disciples.¹⁵⁶ Mohammed himself is credited with having stated the requirements of Islam: "Thou shalt have Allah without associating anything with Him; thou shalt perform the *salat* (prayer), hand over the *zakat* (alms), and keep the sacred bonds of relationship"—an epitome of the later formulation of the so-called "pillars" of Islam.

The cultus, more than its doctrinal expression, unites and integrates the brotherhood. The Christian sacraments, the Buddhist confession, the Zoroastrian communion, and the Manichaean cultic meals reveal this. The *bhikkhus*, or monks, preached the law to the laity at the solemn gatherings of early Buddhism and received gifts in exchange. "These mutual gifts—the gift of the law is the greatest of all—preserve the cohesion, the unity of the *samgha*."¹⁵⁷ Foreshadowed by practices in the inner circle of the disciples, a characteristic attitude develops which manifests itself in the spirit pervading the life and activity of the brotherhood. The simple rules which tend more to express the feeling than to regulate the conduct of the participants have to be steadily extended, defined, and interpreted as increasing membership brings varied conditions and new problems. Decisions have to be made and norms established.¹⁵⁸

Charisma and seniority have now become insufficient for authority.¹⁵⁹ A reorganization sets in, discipline is established, and the period of brotherhood is ended, to be succeeded by a type of new organization, the ecclesiastical body.¹⁶⁰

8. (c) THE ECCLESIASTICAL BODY: CHURCH AND CHURCHES

The organization of the community of faith at this point may vary at different places (cities, rural districts, and "diaspora")

¹⁵⁶ On the house-meetings in early Christianity—this idea is renewed in many "reform" groups later on—see Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, chap. ii, who enumerates meetings for edification, thanksgiving, and discipline.

¹⁵⁷ Pryzluski, *op. cit.*, p. 280; cf. the description of the Patimokkha celebration in Warren, *Buddhism*, sec. 83.

¹⁵⁸ For the implications of the principle of "love" and its bearing upon the conduct of the earlier and later Apostolic age cf. Cadoux, *The Early Church*, pp. 90 ff., 137 ff. On the terminology see "Agapan" (art.), in *TWNT*, I, 20 ff., esp. 44 ff.

¹⁵⁹ On the *proistamenoi* (leaders) of the early Christian congregations see Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, pp. 123 ff.; and *ibid.*, pp. 138 ff., on the qualifications of leaders according to the Pastoral Letters.

¹⁶⁰ This process is analysed as it appears in modern sectarianism (on the sect see below, sec. 12) by Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* ("Yale Studies in Religious Education", Vol. XV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942)), chap. vii: "Churches and Sects".

and adapt itself to local conditions, borrowing some of its forms and means from secular or traditional groups. Corollary to the development within a religious group is the attitude of the world towards it.¹⁶¹ Types of this attitude can be studied with particular clarity in the reaction of modern society to incipient denominationalism and sectarianism, and we should not be too far amiss if we applied the result of such studies to the interpretation of early church history. The minority group, if united and organized enough to act as a body, must justify its existence and demonstrate its will and capacity to survive.¹⁶² This necessity creates the beginnings of apologetics and polemics. In the early Christian church,¹⁶³ Jewish and Greek ideas contributed to the growth of a systematic theology; all three—Christian, Jewish, and Greek elements—are combined in the development of Mohammedan theology.¹⁶⁴

There follows with continued reflection and discussion, systematization, and elaboration of doctrine, the careful and comprehensive formation of a rule of faith or creed,¹⁶⁵ the standardization of forms of collective worship,¹⁶⁶ and eventually the

¹⁶¹ On early Christianity see Adolf von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. Frances Moffat (2nd ed.; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908); Dill, *Roman Society*; Wendland, *Hellenistisch-romische Kultur*, chap. x; E. Dobschütz, *Christian Life*; Shirley Jackson Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1914); *The Social Triumph of the Ancient Church* (Harper & Bros., 1933), esp. chaps. ii, iv, v; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937 ff.). Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff., lays stress on the implications of the application of the prophetic "remnant" to the early Christian community. See also Cadoux, *Early Church*, pp. 146 ff.

¹⁶² Cf. Herbert Brook Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church: A Chapter in the History of Renunciation* (Cincinnati, 1906) (still very valuable), and the monograph on the Christian martyr: Donald Wayne Riddle, *The Martyr: A Study in Social Control* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

¹⁶³ Cf. Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, *The Theology of Justin Martyr* (Jena: Frommann, 1923), esp. chaps. iii, ix; Angus, *Quests*, esp. chap. vii.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. George Hogarth Carnaby MacGregor and A. C. Purdy, *Jew and Greek, Tutors unto Christ: The Jewish and Hellenistic Background of the New Testament* (Nicholson & Watson, 1936); S. Horowitz, *Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf der Entwicklung des Kalam* (Breslau, 1909); Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, chap. iii; Richard Bell, *The Origin of Islam in Its Christian Environment* ("Gunning Lectures" (Edinburgh, 1925; London: Macmillan & Co., 1926)).

¹⁶⁵ See on the history of the Christian and modern creeds the works cited in chap. iii, n. 14. Cf. Alexander William Curtis, *A History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith in Christendom* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), and Charles A. Briggs, *The Fundamental Christian Faith* (T. & T. Clark, 1913). On the Moslem: Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, App. I (trans. of several creeds); Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*. Cf. also Constance E. Padwick, "I Take Refuge with God", *Moslem World*, XXVIII (1938), 372 ff. On the four Zoroastrian formulas, and the Fravarane ("Credo" in Yasna 12), see Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, pp. 268 ff. On the Taoist see J. J. M. de Groot, "The Origin of the Taoist Church", *TiChR* I (1908), 138 ff.

¹⁶⁶ For the development in Christianity (particularly instructive are the *Canons of Hippolytus*) cf. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*; Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*; Underhill, *Worship* ("Christian Worship"); Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche*.

establishment of a constitution¹⁶⁷ to sustain the now stable organization. The oral tradition is written down, the written tradition is collected and standardized, the doctrine is redefined, and hereafter all deviations¹⁶⁸ and opinions at variance with the officially accepted teachings¹⁶⁹ are classed as heresy. Harnack enumerates the following factors as influencing the formation of the Christian dogma: (1) the ideas derived from the canonical scriptures; (2) early tradition; (3) cultic and constitutional needs; (4) adjustment to the thought of the times; (5) political and social conditions; (6) changing moral ideas; (7) logical consistency and analogy; (8) a tendency to harmonize existing differences; (9) exclusion of errors; and (10) force of habit.¹⁷⁰ With the more abundant growth of forms of cultic expression such as devotional practices, ritual, calendar, feasts,¹⁷¹ a more elaborate division and differentiation of functions and functionaries become necessary.¹⁷² The apostolate in the early Christian church was traced back to the founder himself (Matt. xvi, 13 ff.; xviii, 72; Acts) and included functions later to be taken over by different groups (orders) (Eph., chaps. iv and xi). The diaconate (Acts, chap. vi), presbyterate (Acts, chap. xi), and episcopate (Rev. ii, 3 and I Tim.) followed in due succession.¹⁷³ The three orders, the

¹⁶⁷ In Christianity: A. von Harnack, *Sources of the Apostolic Canon*; Edwin Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches* ("Bampton Lectures" (London: Rivingtons, 1881)); A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, Part I, p. 4. As classical documents of this phase see the *Epistle of Clement*, the *Didache*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Polycarp*, and the *Letters of Ignatius*. Streeter (*Primitive Church*, p. 74) explains both the theological and the corresponding sociological development ("organization") as a reaction of the organism to environment.

¹⁶⁸ On heresy cf. below, sec. 10, and Walter Bauer, "Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im alten Christentum," in *Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*, No. X (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1938).

¹⁶⁹ For Buddhism see de la Vallée-Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, chap. iii; Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagrha*, esp. chaps. iv and v, who considers the Mahasamghika as the older, more democratic community of the East, whereas the Sthavira would represent a somewhat later, more "aristocratic" development in the West of the original home of Buddhism ("congregation des fidèles" and "communauté des religieux", pp. 308 ff.). On the terms "Mahayana" and "Hinayana" Buddhism cf. F. Otto Schrader, "Zur Bedeutung der Namen Mahayana und Hinayana", *ZDMG*, LXIV (1910), 341 ff. The first great Jaina dogmatist was Umasvati, on whose great exposition (*Tattvarthasiddhigamasastra*) cf. Hermann Jacobi, "Eine Jaina-Dogmatik", in *ZDMG*, LX (1906), 287.

¹⁷⁰ Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, I (1894), 13 (Engl. ed., p. 12).

¹⁷¹ Cf. Pierre Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, trans. A. Baylay (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912); Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912).

¹⁷² A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 466 ff.; Adeney, *The Eastern Churches*, chap. ix.

¹⁷³ The "episcopalian" and "presbyterian" controversy cannot be discussed here. Some interpret episcopacy as a function (of some elders), others as a distinct office (Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, pp. 157 ff.); there (pp. 152 ff.) on the early "office-bearers". Cf. also Carl Ludwig Schmidt, "Le Ministère et les ministères dans l'Eglise du N.T.", *RHP*, XVII (1937), 313 ff., and John T. McNeill, "The Doctrine of the Ministry in Reformed Theology", *CH*, XII (1943), 77 ff.

relation and legitimacy of which were to be so passionately disputed in later times, were thus established, at first probably with local differences.¹⁷⁴ Even then, for a time, the authority of persons with extraordinary spiritual gifts was recognized. As the charismatic leadership declined, however, a different type of authority came into existence, the "clergy", as distinguished from the "laity". Honoured persons (widows, celibates) mark the transition.¹⁷⁵ Duties, privileges, and salaries are fixed. Conduct is more definitely regulated.¹⁷⁶ A double standard of perfection arises in ascetic Christian circles,¹⁷⁷ as is also the case in Mohammedanism, Manichaeism, and Buddhism.¹⁷⁸

For lack of official terminology we shall call a body thus developed and constituted an "ecclesiastical" or "semi-ecclesiastical organization". Here and here alone the term "institution", often loosely used, can rightfully be applied.¹⁷⁹ Ecclesiastical bodies may resemble one another in many respects structurally, but they differ considerably in their self-interpretation, in theology, in soteriology and eschatology.¹⁸⁰ No designation for such a body in the English, French, or German languages is satisfactory.¹⁸¹ Most students apply the term "church(es)", *Kirche(en)*, or *église(s)* to the non-Christian institutions which have the necessary qualifications to be called an ecclesiastical body.¹⁸² The hesitation of Christian theologians to call ecclesiastical bodies

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Harnack's exposition of the development of the "reader's" office, *Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 54 ff. (Canons); on woman ministry, Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 ff.

¹⁷⁵ Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-46.

¹⁷⁶ Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, chaps. iii ff.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Nock, *Conversion*, chap. xiii, enumerating what was expected.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. below, secs. 10-12.

¹⁷⁹ For a different view cf. Joyce Oramel Hertzler, *Social Institutions* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1929), pp. 57 ff.

¹⁸⁰ The Christian idea of the church is, of course, based on the Pauline concept of the body of Christ. While the Catholic interpretation emphasizes the significance of the objective fact of the Incarnation (Eph. 1, 23), the Protestant concentrates on the subjective communion ("fellowship") (Matt. xviii, 20). The characteristics of the concept *ecclesia* (different Christian groups emphasize one or the other) are well discussed by Lindsay (*The Ministry and the Church*, chap. i): fellowship, unity, visibility, authority, sacerdotal character. His interpretation is the (Protestant) "conciliaristic" (p. 259). Cf. also J. W. Hunkin, "The Organization and Worship of the Primitive Church", in *A Companion to the Bible*, ed. T. W. Manson (T. & T. Clark, 1939), pp. 462 ff. (on *ecclesia*).

¹⁸¹ Cf. the exposition of Robert Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (2nd ed.; London, 1878), chap. i, who sees the problem.

¹⁸² For a recent attempt of a philosopher to define "church" see Percy Hughes, "Churches", *RR*, I (1936), 29 ff. The interesting remarks of Walter Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, II, 281 ff.: "Die Kirche in Ägypten". Cf. Arthur E. S. Christensen's description of "L'Eglise sassanide" in medieval Iran, in *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* ("Annales du Musée Guimet: Bibliothèque d'études", Vol. XLVIII (Copenhagen: Levin & Munkegaard, 1936)). Carl Heinrich Becker speaks even of an "Islamic Church", "Christianity and Islam", *RR*, Vol. I (1936).

outside Christianity "churches" is easily understandable. This objection is based on theological considerations, since "church" is not purely a descriptive term but a normative one, based on definite content (doctrine) and referring to an ideal. Hence there can be only one Christian church even though broken up into a number of bodies, each claiming the—exclusive—right to represent the whole as well as the ideal.

Yet outside Christianity also are found types of communities which definitely pass beyond the stage of brotherhood.¹⁸³ In Judaism the "Kahal Adonay" or the "Knesseth Israel" is roughly equivalent to a Jewish "church". In Zoroastrianism is found an ecclesiastical body which flourished more than any other during Sassanian times. Mahayana Buddhism has likewise produced ecclesiastical organizations, and the term "semi-ecclesiastical body" may be applied to groups in Mohammedanism and Confucianism on account of their peculiar structure, which will be discussed in fuller detail below.¹⁸⁴

9. DEVELOPMENTS: CONSTITUTION; EQUALITARIAN AND HIERARCHICAL IDEALS

The constitutions of ecclesiastical bodies vary greatly.¹⁸⁵ "The form", says a modern church historian quite aptly,¹⁸⁶ "which the government of the church assumes in any given age is not an accident, but must be regarded as an outward expression of a spirit working from within—the embodiment of an intelligible purpose. Just as a deep significance attaches to the variations of Christian doctrine, so also there is a meaning in the changes which have taken place in ecclesiastical organizations." There is a maximum and a minimum type. The latter is represented by a highly spiritual conception of fellowship with partial or total

¹⁸³ Cf. Becker-Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, chap. xlv. The definition of a church (p. 613) is unsatisfactory.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. below, chap. vii, last paragraph.

¹⁸⁵ On the organization of the early Christian church, see A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*: apostles, prophets, teachers, pp. 21 ff.; presbyters, bishops, deacons, pp. 37 ff.; Harnack, *Constitution*; Hatch, *Growth of Church Institutions*; Walter Frederic Adeney, *The Greek and the Eastern Churches* ("International Theological Library" (T. & T. Clark, 1908)), chap. ix; Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, Lects. V–VIII; Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity*, pp. 141 ff.; George La Piana, "The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century", *HTHR*, XVIII (1925), 201 ff.; Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche*, pp. 95 ff., 179 ff.; Hunkin, "Organization and Worship", pp. 464 ff., 470 ff. Of the Buddhist community: Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, 237 ff.; Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (Kegan Paul, 1933) chap. ii; James B. Pratt, *Pilgrimage of Buddhism* (Macmillan, 1928), chaps. vii, xvii, xxvi; Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagriha*. Of Mohammedanism cf. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, Part II (1903); Titus, *Indian Islam*, chap. iv: "Organization of the Sunni Community".

¹⁸⁶ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

rejection of organization, law, and discipline within the body, insistence upon the principle of equality, and periodic returns to the ideals of its inception.¹⁸⁷ The former is characterized in the first place by a more or less unqualified acceptance of tradition. This attitude is not merely the result of the historic process in which tradition is formed, but is justified on grounds of principle (continuance of charisma, "apostolic succession"). A second characteristic is the active encouragement of the development, standardization, and codification of expressions of religious experiences which are deemed adequate. The history of the early Christian church has been most effectively described and interpreted from the minimalist viewpoint by Sohm.¹⁸⁸

Parallels to conditions as Sohm conceived of them and which fit his theory may be found in the constitution of Christian communities of the dissenting and sectarian types (cf. secs. 10-12 below). Earliest Buddhism represents a similar minimum type of constitution. In Islam, on the other hand, the central conception of the equality of all believers, that of the *ummah* of the faithful,¹⁸⁹ "never quite replaced the Arab reverence for distinguished genealogy".¹⁹⁰ Thus the *ashraf* (those of distinguished descent), originally heads of prominent families, now members of the house of the Prophet, were given special prominence in the Mohammedan community. Otherwise the rules of Moslem piety were fixed by the prophet himself. "The new and dominating element was the personality of Mohammed himself; he had no need of a code, for his own will was enough"¹⁹¹—during his lifetime. The rules were later most carefully elaborated and interpreted.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ The sociological types which Johannes Kühn outlines in his important study, *Toleranz und Offenbarung: Eine Untersuchung der Motive und Motivformen der Toleranz im offenbarungsgläubigen Protestantismus* (Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1923), should have been traced back to this fundamental difference.

¹⁸⁸ Rudolf Sohm, *Kirchenrecht* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1923), and *Das altkatholische Kirchenrecht und das Decretum Gratians: Festschrift für Adolf Wach* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1918). Cf. Harnack's criticism in *Constitution*, App. I. For a historical appreciation see Olaf Linton, *Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung* ("Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift" (Uppsala, 1932)).

¹⁸⁹ *EI*, IV, 1015-16.

¹⁹⁰ *EI*, IV, 325 ff. An interesting parallel is the honour in which "the lineage of the Lord" was held in early Christianity (in Jerusalem, for example); descendants were still living in Trajan's time (cf. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 120).

¹⁹¹ Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 69 ff., emphasizes the change brought about with Mohammed's death.

¹⁹² On the development of the *fiqh* (law), cf. Snouck Hurgronje, "Der Islam", in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, I, 695 ff. Cf. there, also, on the *madhab's* (main legal schools). On the *hadith* (tradition) see *EI*, II, 189 ff.; on *musnad* (collections of tradition) and *musannaf*, *EI*, II, 193-194; on the growth of the Mohammedan canon law see Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, esp. pp. 83 ff.; Thomas Arnold, "Muslim Civilization during the Abbasid Period", *CMedH*, Vol. I, chap. x.

With the maximum type we find, in addition to the elaboration of doctrine and devotional forms, the development of a hierarchical structure, the division into laity and clergy, organization of the latter in grades with special privileges and prerogatives, canon law, and discipline. Neither the maximum nor the minimum types can be explained solely on the basis of historical growth, but are, to a considerable extent, though possibly not exclusively, grounded on principles which in turn reflect characteristic religious experiences.

Important divisions within the great religious bodies are often based on such differences in principle,¹⁹³ while scholars seek vainly to unearth the causative factors by means of a historical analysis of the origin and growth of the ecclesiastical body in question. Christian minimum groups are represented by dissenting Protestant communities like the Anabaptists, Baptists, Quakers, Mennonites, Disciples, by spiritualists and mystics and rationalists (Unitarians and Universalists); also by sects like Christian Science or the Russellites. As maximum groups are to be regarded: Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman and oriental Catholicism, Anglicanism, and, to a lesser degree, Presbyterianism, Lutheranism,¹⁹⁴ Methodist Episcopalianism,¹⁹⁵ the New Apostolic Community (Irvingites), and the Latter-Day Saints.¹⁹⁶

Earliest Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism represent, with their divergent conceptions of the *samgha*, extremes of the Eastern version of this difference. Przyluski, who follows Minayeff and De la Vallée-Poussin in their critical attitude towards those who give priority to the Pali tradition, distinguishes three stages of the *samgha*: the oldest upholds the egalitarian ideal; the second, represented by the Hinayana, is monastic and aristocratic; and the third culminates in the hierarchical Mahayana.¹⁹⁷

The definition of the criteria of membership in the ecclesiastical bodies has been the subject of extended discussions within the

¹⁹³ We shall see later (sec. 10) that the protest which we call "rationalistic" and find all through the history of Christianity, as of other religions, may be due either to (1) aversion against theological speculation in general or (2) against certain historical results (particular definition of doctrine).

¹⁹⁴ A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, Part I, p. 12. Cf. Maurer, "Studies in the Sociology of Protestantism", *AJS*, XXX (1924), 257 ff.

¹⁹⁵ The "New Connexion" separated because of the maximalist constitution of Wesley's church. Cf. Maximin Piette, *John Wesley in the Development of Protestantism*, trans. J. B. Howard (Sheed & Ward, 1932), pp. 396 ff.

¹⁹⁶ John A. Widtsoe, *Priesthood and Government: A Handbook and Study-Course for the Quorums of the Melchizedek Priesthood of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co. (copyright Heber J. Grant), 1939) (authorized by the church). Cf. below, nn. 482 ff. For the Irvingites cf. below, n. 490.

¹⁹⁷ Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagraha*, pp. 308 ff., 367 ff.

religious communities. The minimum groups, in accordance with their concept of the nature of religious communion, favour the principle of voluntary membership, the idea of a covenant or society, to bind the "members" in a "free" organization (*Freikirche*).¹⁹⁸ The term "free church" has the double meaning of freedom from secular interference (e.g., from the side of the state) and of freedom from coercion in religious matters (e.g., compulsory discipline). Advocates of the maximum view stress the metaphysical foundation (revelation) upon which the ecclesiastical institution with its sacramental means of grace is believed to rest and the essential necessity of its instruments and its discipline for salvation (*Anstaltskirche*). Much emphasis is also placed on the purity of a well-defined doctrine as a safeguard against errors and compromises. The stricter definition of membership implies limitations which may lead to crises and eventually to separation and exclusion of minorities on theological, disciplinary, or ethnic grounds, as, for example, the elimination of the Jewish-Christian group in early Christianity.¹⁹⁹

Grades of membership may be indicated in a distinction between communicants and attendants, confirmed and not yet confirmed, members "in good standing", nominal members, etc. The issue of discipline may lead in both minimum and maximum groups to the problem of how to deal with unworthy, lax, or lapsed members. Religious, ethical, and social considerations may be added to the decisions on grounds of principle. We find rigorism and latitudinarianism represented in both types of groups, those with maximalist and those with minimalist views, sometimes both policies co-existing, or alternating in one body during different periods and in different circles. (Compare the contrast of lay practice and practice in religious orders in Catholicism and of the handling of discipline within different Lutheran and within different Methodist bodies (Episcopal, Nazarene).)

Another bone of contention lies in the problem of orthodoxy. It does not greatly concern the minimum groups, but the maximum groups solve it according to more authoritarian (Roman Catholic)²⁰⁰ or "conciliaristic" conceptions of the

¹⁹⁸ "Freikirche" (art.), in *RGG*, II, 759 ff.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, chap. ix: "The End of Judaic Christianity". Secession and schisms will be discussed later (sec. 12).

²⁰⁰ Of the many ideological and theological justifications of the authority of the papacy cf. Karl Adam, *The Spirit of Catholicism*, trans. Dom Justin McCann (Sheed & Ward, 1929), chaps. ii and v.

ecclesiastical body²⁰¹ (Eastern Orthodoxy,²⁰² Anglicanism).²⁰³ The Catholic church in late medieval and modern times was divided on the question of final authority until this was finally settled by the Vatican Council.²⁰⁴ The Orthodox church, on the other hand, experienced authoritarian rule of church government until after the revolution of 1917, when the "conciliaristic" principle regained ascendancy.²⁰⁵ Religious groups inclined towards a minimum concept tend to stress the authority of the local congregation against a centralized or collective authority. The conception of the church in Congregationalism²⁰⁶ differs from that of other Christian bodies in that it rejects hierarchical organization and affirms the principle of regional crystallization.²⁰⁷ Groups of this type, akin to the circle or the brotherhood, want to be free from the spiritual danger which, they feel, confronts the great ecclesiastical organizations. The constant numerical growth of the latter is thought to threaten the freshness and immediacy of the religious experience of the followers. Many will become rightfully apprehensive of the stifling of spontaneity by tradition, a stifling which would breed complaisance and compromise, lead to petrification, and thus grievously imperil the purity of the spirit. Such dangers are seen and feared not only outside but also within ecclesiastical bodies by laymen and office-bearers. As long as this process is not too far advanced, a shift of emphasis

²⁰¹ For the development of the conciliarist theory see John Neville Figgis, *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius, 1414-1625* (Cambridge University Press, 1907), chap. ii.

²⁰² Sergiei N. Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church* (London: Centenary Press, 1935), pp. 67 ff.; Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche*, pp. 181 ff.

²⁰³ Felix Makower, *The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England*, trans. Felix Makower (London: J. Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1895); H. H. Henson, *The Church of England* (Cambridge University Press, 1939); W. A. Brown, *The Church, Protestant and Catholic* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), chaps. ix ff.; Niebuhr in *ESS*, 267 ff. (with abundant bibliography).

²⁰⁴ A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 202 ff. Cf. the works cited below, chap. vi, sec. 10, and chap. vii, last paragraph.

²⁰⁵ On the Sobor of 1918 cf. William Chauncey Ehmhardt, *Religion in Soviet Russia* (Milwaukee, Wis.: Morehouse Pub. Co.; London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1929), Part I; Pavel N. Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture*, ed. M. Karpovich (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), Vol. I, chap. viii; N. S. Timasheff, *Religion in Soviet Russia, 1917-1942* (Sheed & Ward, 1942).

²⁰⁶ Cf. William Boothby Selbie, *Congregationalism* (London: Methuen & Co., 1927); Raymond Phineas Stearns, *Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands: The Rise and Fall of the English Congregational Classes, 1621-1635* ("Studies in Church History", Vol. IV (Chicago: American Society of Church History, 1940)) (non-secessionists); Rufus Jones, *Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth* (Oxford University Press, 1932), chap. ii: "Building a Self-governing Church".

²⁰⁷ Cf. the interesting discussions at the *Second World Conference on Faith and Order* (Edinburgh, 1937), ed. Leonard Hodgson (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1938).

and an attempt to refocus and reintegrate the religious experience may be successfully made. The annals of Christianity,²⁰⁸ Buddhism,²⁰⁹ and Mohammedanism²¹⁰ supply us with numerous instances.

Leadership, distinguished by personal charisma, may produce radical changes, influencing the entire ecclesiastical body or selected groups within it. A renewed process of crystallization might result, or perhaps a secession might be effected and new religious formations spring into existence. The fellowships founded by Marcion, Montanus, Arius, and Nestorius in early Christianity, although different in structure, resemble one another in that they are protests against "orthodox" doctrine, worship, and organization. This process, primarily an internal one, often furthered by outside stimulation, will be followed by internal reaction and, possibly, result in compromises.

There is no reason to doubt that in the founder's lifetime and during the period of early missionary activity, the local units, representing the ecclesia,²¹¹ *samgha*, or *ijma*, enjoy a considerable degree of independence. Unity is assured in this local group by purity of faith, conscientious observance of the cultus, and close conformity of the organization to the ideals of communion implied in the central experience of the founder. In this respect we note an interesting parallel to the natural groups. In specifically religious organizations the local group might theoretically represent the entire congregation of the faithful, without much centralization, or the leadership might exercise authority by virtue of its charisma.²¹² Both types of organization might occur within one religion, as witnessed in the Congregational and Episcopal constitutions in Christianity and Sthavira and Mahasamghika in Buddhism.

²⁰⁸ The typology of such reorientation will be discussed at the end of this chapter. Cf. particularly the history of monasticism (Herbert B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal from the Earliest Times down to the Coming of the Friars* (2nd ed.; London: Epworth Press, 1927); Ian C. Hannah, *Christian Monasticism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1924)). Bibliography on the different early and later reform movements (of Cluny, Cîteaux, of the Mendicants in the pre-Reformation church and of the great and small reform movements from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries) see below, secs. 10 and 11.

²⁰⁹ On early dissensions in Buddhism cf. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagṛha*, chap. iv.

²¹⁰ On the Kharijite and other early movements in Islam cf. William Thomson, "The Early Muslim Sects", in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (London: Christophers, 1937), pp. 71 ff.

²¹¹ Cf. the emphasis in Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, pp. 155 ff. (local independence with consciousness of unity). Cf. also Hunkin, "Organization", in *Companion to the Bible*, pp. 462 ff.

²¹² Cf. for the principal aspect (charisma versus tradition) Max Weber, *G.A.*, I, 268 ff. In *ibid.*, II, 105, he emphasizes that in religious organizations election is not an original feature, acclamation of a personal or gentile charisma always preceding it.

A certain amount of differentiation is usually traceable within the new community even at the onset of its development. This may be due to differences of authority and age—the presbyter in the early Christian church and the elders in primitive Buddhism enjoying special authority²¹³—or it might be due to the growing division of functions. The most important of the latter are teaching and instruction, fundamental to the propagation of the faith; administration of the cult, fundamental to the integration of worship; care of the poor, sick, neglected, as well as discipline, fundamental to the preservation of unity and of morals.²¹⁴ In the early stages of development there is little need of regulating the relations of the members with one another and with their superiors, since the spirit of solidarity will more or less spontaneously and quite adequately perform this function. The criterion of authority—and even radically equalitarian groups must accept a certain amount of it—remains the charismatic personality. It is significant that this principle, though rarely surviving a protracted period of development, is renewed and re-emphasized in the course of the many revolutions and reformations that echo and re-echo through church history. Eventually, however, charismatic authority is partially or totally eclipsed by the church offices (*Amtscharisma*). The latter may be merely an outgrowth of the division of functions without corresponding “offices”, honours, and remunerations. The spiritual vocation of ministering to the poor may thus be combined with a secular profession.²¹⁵ This combination is still a feature of some dissenting Protestant groups and of some sects.

In contrast to the radical equalitarian concept, development might lead to a marked differentiation between those who specialize in religious work and those who do not. We have the distinction between clergy and laity in the early Christian church and of *arahat* (monks) and *upasaka* (laymen) in Buddhism. According to Przyluski, the *arahat* ideal is foreign to the earliest Buddhist communion and is characteristic only of the second stage reflected in the Pali Vinaya; originally all monks and laymen formed the *samgha*.²¹⁶ A similar distinction appears in the four *tirtha* in

²¹³ Cf. on the Sthavira (“les plus âgés de la congrégation”), Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagrhra*, pp. 289 ff., who shows how the ideal of the *arahat* replaces the “presbytery”.

²¹⁴ The interrelation of service, leadership, and gifts (charismata) is interestingly demonstrated by Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff. Cf. there the various meanings of *diakonein* and different “gifts”.

²¹⁵ For examples of secular professions of office-bearers in the early church (bishops as shepherds, lawyers, shipbuilders) see Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

²¹⁶ Przyluski, *op. cit.*, pp. 279 ff.

Jainism²¹⁷ and in the various classes established in Gnosticism²¹⁸ and Manichaeism.²¹⁹ At a second level we arrive at a further differentiation: the organization of those admitted for specifically religious work (ordination) might be more or less equalitarian, or it might exhibit a hierarchical structure (consecration). The former is the ideal of early Buddhism and, in a different way, of Mohammedanism; the latter is characteristic of Eastern Orthodoxy, of Roman and Anglo-Catholicism as well as of Zoroastrianism,²²⁰ and of later Buddhism, Vishnuism, and Taoism.²²¹

The term *kleros*, originally meaning the whole body of the "people of God", is applied in the Christian community to those primarily or exclusively entrusted with teaching, administering the cult, and caring for social needs.²²² The growing necessity of providing unity of doctrine, worship, and administration²²³ as the ecclesiastical group becomes larger and more unwieldy leads the heads of the clergy to assume certain of the functions particularly in the central administration of the cult. Thus the *episcopo* and *leiturgia*, closely connected in the constitution of the early Catholic church, culminate in the administration of the Eucharist.²²⁴ The elaboration of the concept of succession, equally familiar to Buddhists, Manichaeans, and Mohammedans as it is to the episcopally organized Christians, explains why these prerogatives were limited to the spiritual successors of the disciples and the founder.²²⁵ Hence consecration is a necessary prerequisite to legitimate fulfilment of priestly functions. As canon law

²¹⁷ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, chap. v, on the four *tirtha*: monks, nuns, laymen, and women.

²¹⁸ On the concept of the pneumatic or spiritual man in Valentinus' system cf. Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, pp. 122-23.

²¹⁹ Hans Jakob Polotsky, "Manichaeism" (art.), in *PWRE*, Suppl., VI, 262.

²²⁰ The hierarchical order of the Zoroastrian church is discussed by Christensen, *L'Iran*, pp. 110 ff.

²²¹ Cf. de Groot, "The Origin of the Taoist Church", in *TICHr*, I (1908), 138 ff. On hierarchical order in sectarianism cf. below, sec. 12.

²²² For the early Christian church see Harnack, *Constitution*, chap. iv, who states that the distinction between clergy and laity becomes firmly established in the second century. For the etymology of the term see *ibid.*, pp. 113-14. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, influenced by the Protestant notion of general ministry, distinguishes a ministering priesthood from a "mediating" one (p. 35).

²²³ The Presbyterian constitution, as opposed to the Episcopalian and Congregational, is characterized by (1) parity of ministers, (2) popular government (ruling and teaching elders), and (3) ecclesiastical unity of organization.

²²⁴ Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40. Cf. Yngve Torgny Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic*, trans. A. G. Hebert (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge; New York and Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1930). Cf. also above, chap. iii, n. 40.

Cf. Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche*, pp. 34 ff., esp. 48 ff., 67 ff.

developed in the Roman Catholic church,²²⁶ distinctions of *potestas ordinis* and *potestas jurisdictionis* were reserved to the ordained clergy. The first includes the right to teach and administer the sacraments and is reserved by the authority of revelation to bishops, priests, deacons, and only in exceptional cases to those of lower status. The second includes the divine right to judge and govern and is limited to the episcopate.²²⁷ According to Harnack, "ecclesiastical law did not arise in any sense as the working-out of a principle, but it developed gradually, and, so to speak, from case to case."²²⁸ The idea that the church possesses rights or a right (*jura, jus*) is older than the hierarchic conception of the church."²²⁹

There is no parallel to the unique centralization of government in the Roman Catholic church. This development is due partly to the influence of old Roman institutions.²³⁰ Thus the metropolitan hierarchy was naturally established in the great cities and organized in accordance with the provincial political organization, just as in the old régime the *civitas* ruled the *territorium*.²³¹ Similarly, the development of criminal and disciplinary law shows the marked influence of Roman jurisprudence. Administrative and jurisdictional powers rested entirely with the bishop (episcopalism).²³² *Ubi episcopus ibi ecclesia*. This development²³³ was opposed where it was incompatible with the pattern of conditions in the Holy Roman Empire, as in the Germanic countries.²³⁴ The growing power and influence of the ecclesiastical organizations were bound to arouse the suspicion and hostility of

²²⁶ Cf. Harold Dexter Hazeltine, "Roman and Canon Law in the Middle Ages", *CMedH*, Vol. V, chap. xxi.

²²⁷ See Harnack, *The Constitution*, chap. v; Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche*, pp. 95 ff.; Hatch, *Church Institutions*, chaps. ii, vii, ix.

²²⁸ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 145. For similar views see Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, chaps. v and vii.

²²⁹ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. iv; Lindsay, *op. cit.*, chap. viii.

²³¹ Hatch, *Growth of Church Institutions*, chaps. i and ii; Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Oxford University Press, 1925), chap. iii.

²³² Harnack, *Sources*, *Introd.*, p. xxii, on the "causes of the variety of ecclesiastical organizations", enumerating five reasons for it. Cf. below, secs. 10-12.

²³³ Cf. the interesting sketch of the development of a Christian order and the concept of Christian liberty and privilege in Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Blackwell (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1940), chap. i. See for the foundation of ecclesiastical hierarchy (monastic and priestly), *ibid.*, pp. 47 ff.

²³⁴ For the Germanic *Eigenkirche* cf. the research of Ulrich Stutz and "Eigenkirche" (art.), in *RGG*, II, 55 ff.; for the adaptation of the new Christian to the pre-Christian sociological organization in Scandinavia see Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, II, 131-32. Cf. also *A Short History of Christianity*, ed. Archibald Baker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), chap. iii.

the secular government. We can foresee the difficulties and struggles which characterize the early medieval period of the Catholic church (chap. vii).

We have thus far concentrated our attention, in somewhat abstract fashion, on the process of formation of the ecclesiastical body. We have pointed out that this is not a simple "one-line" development, but is infinitely more complex, involving reactions, reformations, and counter-reactions. Often groups led by leaders with great spiritual power break off from the main body. In early Christianity not one but several ecclesiastical bodies grew up.²³⁵ Harnack quotes Tertullian ("faciunt favos et vespaes, faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitae") in showing that Marcion and his followers also formed a church. The Western Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and oriental churches as well as the schismatic bodies of Montanus, Marcion, Novatian, Donatus, and Arius²³⁶—all ecclesiastical bodies in our terminology—claimed to be *the* church. All were characterized by somewhat similar constitutions as well as similar though not identical doctrine, worship, and organization.

Gnosticism, which gave rise to a number of groups and schools, is a complex phenomenon.²³⁷ Most anti- or non-Christian Gnostic groups illustrate the type of grouping characterized above as mystery societies or circles (secs. 3 and 6). Some "Christian" Gnostic communities developed an ecclesiastical body (Marcion). Their insistence upon deeper "pneumatic" interpretation marks an important deviation in doctrine. Changes in forms of worship (additional sacraments) characterized some of these groups. They varied also in their criticism of tradition and in the organizational result of their protest against the structure of the mother-church.

During the Middle Ages the process which established the dyarchy of the Eastern and Western Catholic churches led to the suppression of all "competition" and the limitation of the smaller

²³⁵ Cf. the excellent treatment of the Syriac church in Francis Crawford Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity* ("St. Margaret's Lectures" (London: J. Murray, 1904)).

²³⁶ Cf. Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche*, Part II; Louis Marie Olivier Duchesne, *The Churches Separate from Rome*, trans. A. H. Mathew (London, 1907); Latourette, *op. cit.*, chap. vii.

²³⁷ On Gnosticism cf. RGG, II, 1272 ff.; "Gignosko" (art.), in Kittel, *TWNT*, I, 688 ff.; Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen: R. Vandenhöck & Ruprecht, 1907); Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, chap. viii; Hans Leisegang, *Die Gnosis* (Leipzig: A. Kröner, 1924); Eugène de Faye, *Gnostiques et gnosticisme: étude critique des documents chrétiens aux II^e et III^e siècles* (2nd ed., Paris: E. Leroux, 1925); Latourette, *op. cit.*, I, 338 ff.; Francis Crawford Burkitt, *Church and Gnosis: A Study in Christian Thought in the Second Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1932).

groups (oriental churches) to purely local significance. With the beginning of modern times, however, a pluralism of sociological formations, restricted to a dyarchy in the centuries before, asserts itself in the era of the Reformation.

With the development and growth of the ecclesiastical body, a variety of specific religious and social needs arises. Wherever the regular offices and functionaries prove inadequate, specific organizations must be created to provide for such essentials as home and foreign missions, education, and relief. Two methods of establishing such agencies may be used. They may be founded by authorities from "above" or they may be initiated and maintained by private support. In the latter case they will be expected to legitimize their existence by application for confirmation of statutes or by similar official action. The extent to which activities will be organized and the relations of the new organization to the main body will be determined by the latter's constitution and by individual need. From the history of religion we obtain material for a study of these organizations and agencies in the various religious bodies, while, with the help of the theory of canon law and religious associations, we are enabled to make a general classification.²³⁸ The sociologist of religion is interested in this whole development from two points of view: because official institutions, following definite patterns, are thus created which fall within his scope of examination and because a spontaneous grouping takes place, leading to the formation *ad hoc* of societies, councils, commissions, and agencies in which he will take an interest. In the case of the spontaneous development of such groups, tendencies sometimes emerge which, under certain conditions, may produce a secession from the main body. An example would be the societies of the Anglican church,²³⁹ some of which were lost in the Methodist secession.²⁴⁰ The discussion of this type of grouping has prepared us for the study of a number of formations on another level, to which we shall now turn our attention.

²³⁸ For the Catholic church cf. *Codex juris canonici*, Liber II. Cf. for associations in German Protestant churches, Walter Birnbaum, *Die freien Organisationen der deutschen evangelischen Kirche* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1939). Cf. n. 239 below.

²³⁹ John Wickham Legg, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement* (London, 1914), chap. ix; John Henry Overton, *The English Church (1800-30)* (London, 1894), chap. viii; Herbert H. Henson, *The Church of England* (Cambridge University Press, 1939), chaps. viii, ix; and Charles Smith, *Simeon and Church Order: A Study of the Origin of the Evangelical Revival in Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1940), esp. p. 310.

²⁴⁰ Cf. below, nn. 354 and 481.

10. REACTION: THE PROTEST

A. INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE TYPES OF PROTEST

All world religions face periodic protests against the main trend of their development. These occur in all three fields of religious expression—in theology, in cult, in organization.²⁴¹ The protests are directed, on the one hand, against the excessive expansion of the ecclesiastical body, with its accompanying compromises and modifications, and, on the other, against individual shortcomings and defaults of leaders of a complacent body which looks with lack-lustre eyes upon the possibilities of further growth and development.

Where the protest is a radical one, secession is likely to occur. Where a split does not eventuate, the new approach may be approved by the main body, and a special organization within the larger body is created to accommodate the followers of the new way. There are in general four types of protest: first, the isolated protest, individual criticism and deviation in practice from the rest of the community; second, the collective protest; both kinds either within the main body or leading to secession. All four types are to be found in the early, the medieval, and the Reformation periods of church history.

Most modern studies in the sociology of Christian groups and their typology concentrate on the effects of separation from the church (Troeltsch, Kühn, Burrage, and Niebuhr).²⁴² However, protests *within* the church (Eastern and Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, Reformed) offer not less interesting material.²⁴³

(a) *Catholic*.—An example of the first type—individual protest within—we find in the Roman Catholic church of the sixteenth century. Philip Neri (1515–95),²⁴⁴ who in early life had come under the influence of humanism,²⁴⁵ adopted a critical attitude

²⁴¹ There is, of course, lack of conformity, scepticism, and heresy as well as schism already in primitive society. For an interesting example see Reo Franklin Fortune, *Omaha Secret Societies* ("Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology", Vol. XIV (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932)), pp. 53 ff., on the "receptor", "rejector", and "skeptical".

²⁴² Cf. John William Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (2nd ed.; London: Methuen & Co., 1941), Introd., esp. p. iii; a typology of protests (p. xiv).

²⁴³ Some good distinctions in Paul Alphandéry, "Remarques sur le type sectaire dans l'hérésiologie médiévale latine", *TICHR*, II, 354 ff. There a warning against confusion of reform groups, devotional associations, and sects. Cf. below, sec. 12.

²⁴⁴ Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bourdet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of His Times, 1515–1595*, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Sheed & Ward, 1932).

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. iv.

towards the church life of his day²⁴⁶ and began as a hermit to realize his new ideal.²⁴⁷ This can be called an individual interior protest. Later, following the example of the Oratory of Divine Love in Rome, called by historians "the first cradle of Catholic reform",²⁴⁸ he gathered followers and associated them loosely in the practice of spiritual exercises and charity. This phase, the foundation of the Oratory, represents the collective or organized protest.²⁴⁹ The congregation was not monastic, being neither an order nor a regular clerical congregation, but it developed from a *collegium* into a *fraternitas* (see below, sec. 11). It had no vows, but was bound by statutes called constitutions,²⁵⁰ and objected in principle both to organization into an order²⁵¹ and to separation from the church. After overcoming initial suspicion, it gained official recognition as a congregation of secular priests within the Catholic church. Here we have an individual protest, turning collective, voiced from within the ecclesiastical body with no intention of separation.

(b) *Puritan*.—The early Puritan movement, recently studied in great detail,²⁵² will serve to exemplify the collective protest. Influenced by the criticism voiced against the medieval church in England²⁵³ and nourished by the thought of Colet and Cartwright

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 70 ff.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. i. These hermits, not completely solitary, were characterized by special dress and diet. Neri always remained, even after the foundation of his congregation, in relative seclusion (pp. 192, 170, 404).

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 74 ff., on their statutes and principles ("leaven" concept). On Bérulle and the French Oratory cf. Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1916 ff.; 1922-33), Eng. trans.: *A Literary History of Religious Thought in France* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge), III, 133 ff. Cf. also below, n. 295.

²⁴⁹ On regularization see Ponnelle and Bourdet, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff.; on the "Confraternity", *ibid.*, pp. 106 ff.; on the "Oratory", *ibid.*, pp. 172 ff.; on the establishment of the "Congregation", *ibid.*, pp. 219 ff.; for an example of the Oblates of Tor de Specchi, *ibid.*, p. 320.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. vii.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 319 ff.

²⁵² Charles Edwin Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism, from the Restoration to the Revolution* (1660-1668) (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan Co., 1931); William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism, or the Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth—from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton* (1570-1673) (Oxford University Press, 1938); Arthur Sutherland and Pigott Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberalism* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1938); esp. Intro. (discrimination of three groups, pp. 14 ff., 35 ff.); Marshall Mason Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Cambridge University Press, 1939), pp. 494 ff. on the "Historiography of Puritanism"; p. 487 on the term "Puritanism". Cf. Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, esp. chap. iv: "Sociology"; Harry G. Plum, *Restoration Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943).

²⁵³ Haller, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.; Thomas Cuming Hall, *The Religious Background of American Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1930), Part I; Knappen, *op. cit.*, chap. xxiii.

and other humanists,²⁵⁴ these protestants against sacerdotalism and indifference within the official Catholic and Anglican churches aimed at a second Reformation. The movement at first was led by clergymen, representing a spiritual brotherhood.²⁵⁵ It has been shown that the early Puritans were far from any thought of organizing independently of the existing church, to say nothing of separation from it.²⁵⁶ One group advocated the establishment of a presbyterian policy. "The attempt was made to set up a presbyterian system of ecclesiastical government within the framework of the established church."²⁵⁷ There were, however, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Congregational "Puritans". They agreed upon the necessity of "purification", intensification of religious life, and discipline—all within the several ecclesiastical bodies. They thus registered both individual and collective protests. Different attitudes soon became discernible within the growing Puritan movement. The dissenters probably did not at first regard themselves as separated, but later on they had to secede because of their desire for a body of "elect" and their insistence upon congregational independence. Some individually withdrew from the existing church; others, like Robert Browne²⁵⁸ (who later conformed again), Henry Barrow, John Smyth, and John Robinson, formed separatist but not revolutionary communities. G. Winstanley and J. Lilburne later displayed a more militant spirit.²⁵⁹ According to the latter, "the way of total separation is the way of truth".²⁶⁰ The consequences of the Puritan protest were thus determined by individual psychological attitudes and theological convictions on the one hand and historical, political, and economic conditions on the other. Different types of religious organizations resulted.

²⁵⁴ Knappen, *op. cit.*, chaps. i-iv; Andrew Forret Scott Pierson, *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge University Press, 1925).

²⁵⁵ Cf. the excellent exposition in Haller, *op. cit.*, chap. ii: "The Spiritual Brotherhood", and chap. v: "Reformation without Tarrying".

²⁵⁶ Knappen, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-85, 489 ff., and chap. vii: "The Genevan Model"; no separation, *ibid.*, chap. xiv. Cf. the outline of Puritan theology in *ibid.*, chaps. xviii-xix; Raymond Phineas Stearns, *Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands*, chap. i (the concept of the "classis").

²⁵⁷ Haller, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 ff., 16-17; no separation, *ibid.*, p. 54. Whiting (*op. cit.*, chap. ii) gives a good survey on Presbyterian Puritanism.

²⁵⁸ On Robert Browne see Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (1550-1641)* (Cambridge University Press, 1912), chap. iii, and pp. 289 ff.; Haller, *op. cit.*, chap. v; Knappen, *op. cit.*, chaps. viii and xv; Dwight C. Smith, "Robert Browne, Independent", *ChH*, VI (1937), 283 ff. Cf. also Rufus Jones, *Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth* ("William Belden Noble Lectures" (Oxford University Press, 1932)), pp. 35 ff.

²⁵⁹ Haller, *Puritanism*, pp. 216 ff., 258 ff., 285; Jones, *op. cit.*, chap. v, on the revolutionary type of separatists.

²⁶⁰ Whiting, *English Puritanism*, chap. ii.

(c) *Revivalist*.—Another example of collective protest is the movement which we call the "Awakening" in the United States in the eighteenth century.²⁶¹ Though powerful leaders stimulated the movement, it cannot exclusively be traced to an individual protest. Its criticism is explicitly or implicitly directed against traditionalism, intellectualism, and scepticism in the dominant religious bodies, against indifference and laxity, against stagnation and decline of active religious life in the country. Foreign, that is, Continental, movements were not without influence on its leaders.²⁶² The movement developed at a different pace in different parts of the country and showed a psychologically and sociologically different character in different regions and in different periods. The historians have distinguished various waves—the Great Awakening, the Great Revival, the renewal of revivalism in the nineteenth century—but religious attitudes in these movements are very similar. Important is the interdenominational character: various ecclesiastical bodies and religious groups were affected by it.²⁶³ Its spiritual and cultural influence upon the religious and social life of the country was profound: especially missionary, educational, and humanitarian activities were greatly stimulated.²⁶⁴ Only recently have we begun to understand this contribution in its full significance. Yet this movement did not produce many distinctly new types of organization. That is partly due to the insistence upon personal experience which is characteristic of all revivalism. This emphasis explains the tendency to extreme expressions of emotionalism which some of its students—historians and psychologists—have

²⁶¹ On the Awakening and its leaders cf. below, n. 351. Cf. "Revivals" (art.), in *ESS*, XIII, 363 ff.; Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-90* (Durham, N.C.; Duke University Press, 1930); Charles Hartshorn Maxson, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920); Charles Roy Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London, Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1942); David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850* ("Columbia Studies in American Culture", Vol. V (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939)), pp. 40 ff.; Catharine C. Cleveland, *The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916); William Warren Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), chap. ix.

²⁶² Cf. Dimond, *Psychology of Methodist Revival*; Maxson, *op. cit.*, chap. i. For English revivalism see Charles Smyth, *Simeon and Church Order*.

²⁶³ Cf. the order in which Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists played a part in the southern revival (Gewehr, *op. cit.*, chaps. iii-vi; cf. also Keller, *op. cit.*, chap. viii). Cf. also below, chap. vi, sec. 8 and see M. E. Gaddis, "Religious Ideas and Attitudes in the Early Frontier", *CH*, II (1923), 152 ff.

²⁶⁴ Keller, *op. cit.*, chaps. iv-viii; Gewehr, *op. cit.*, chaps. viii-xi; esp. Maxson, *op. cit.*, chap. x ("collegia pietatis, religious societies, bands, and classes were organized among the people").

regarded as typical of revival religion in general.²⁶⁵ The one-sided interest in its psychological symptoms should be balanced by an appraisal of its sociological aspects. The accent on subjective states, frequently coupled with more or less pronounced indifference towards the traditional or any definite forms in theological, ritual, or organizational expression, seems to imply a rejection of all formalized devotion. Yet that is definitely not the case. Definite patterns of thought and speech, of procedure and rites, and of fellowship and association emerged. According to geographical, social, and cultural environment and religious tradition, these patterns varied. Characteristic of the revival group is its transitory nature, its psychological "climate", and its relative intimacy, which gives it a sectarian note (cf. below, sec. 12). The first characteristic is the price paid for the excitement and exaltation which so frequently prevail in revival religion. The second results from close physical contact and physiological conditions, such as lack of nourishment and rest, which produce heightened susceptibility and favour contagion. The third feature is discernible not only in the room or house or church gathering but also in the tent and even out-of-door mass meeting. It is not so much the content as the form which characterizes devotions in the revival group, its measure being the "spirit" of acts performed, not so much the form of these acts. The result is the use of traditional institutional forms side by side with the creation of new forms of expression. Charismatic authority plays a great part—another feature reminding us of the sect. Charismatic hierarchies spring up in revivalist groups, their grades corresponding to the degree of participation in the "blessed" state of excitement or of sanctification. A certain impatience with or disapproval of the purely passive attendant or onlooker is also characteristic of such groups, as against the indifference towards other attendants which is met with in large institutional groups, notwithstanding their commitment to the ideal of fellowship.

The collective protest of the Awakening movements led certain individuals and groups into secession. That, however, was more the exception than the rule. The vehement controversies over the character and value of the revival movements (particularly

²⁶⁵ Cf. particularly Frederick Morgan Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals: A Study in Mental and Social Evolution* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1905), chaps. vi and xi; Cleveland, *op. cit.*, chap. iv; Raymond J. Jones, *A Comparative Study of Cult Behaviour* ("Howard University Studies in the Social Sciences" (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1939)), emphasizing connection between white and Negro revivalism.

over the extraordinary exercises accompanying them), which continued for so long after they subsided, show that, even if separation did not occur to any considerable extent, the question of the limit of the orthodox and heterodox, the permitted and the illicit was definitely put and eagerly discussed in the various denominations affected by the revival (Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians).²⁶⁶ As we know that emotional starvation is one of the causes which produce sectarianism, we understand how close to secession many groups and individuals in the revival movements actually were.

(d) *Orthodox*.—Other examples of internal protest are supplied by the history of the Eastern church in Russia.²⁶⁷ The first kind is an institutional protest.²⁶⁸ It was raised by individuals and groups of faithful against the reform of the patriarch Nikon; it did not immediately lead to secession but to the formation of circles of "Old Believers" (Starovery). They were incited negatively by their opposition to the Nikonian innovations, but were gradually faced with a decision as to the organization of their religious life. Two attitudes competed: the more conservative one was inclined to retain the basic teachings, rites, and institutions of the main ecclesiastical body in renewed, "pure" form. These groups at first did not contemplate secession because they looked upon themselves as *the* true orthodox community or church, but they were driven into schism by the lack of adequate consecrated priests in the established church who would be willing to identify themselves with the Old Believers. The second, radical, attitude necessarily implied a schism because of its criticism of the basic principles of the main body. (Principle not empirical opposition to the concept of the sacraments, of the priesthood, and of the church.) Theoretically, the "priestists" could have remained within the ecclesiastical body; the priestless automatically excluded themselves from it; they just had to separate. Actually the break was postponed by groups who, retiring into the less cultivated woodlands of northern Russia, tried to live in small communities, gathered around "teachers", dispensing with sacramental and sacerdotal institutions.²⁶⁹ The

²⁶⁶ On the effect of the revivals and on secession cf. Cleveland, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff. The Shakers, the Disciples, and other groups survived these secessions.

²⁶⁷ Frederick C. Conybeare, *Russian Dissenters* ("Harvard Theological Studies", Vol. X (Oxford University Press, 1921)); Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture*, Vol. I, esp. chaps. iii-vi. Cf. below, nn. 465 and 466.

²⁶⁸ Miliukov, *op. cit.*, chap. iii; Conybeare, *op. cit.*, Part I.

²⁶⁹ Miliukov, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.

shore dwellers on the White Sea littoral and the Vygovsk brotherhood to which A. Denisov gave its statutes have been discussed by Miliukov, whose study on Russian religion places special emphasis on reform and sectarian groups.²⁷⁰ With Euphemius, the founder of the Wanderers, and Zimin, the originator of the Prayerless, we see this movement definitely breaking with the main body and establishing completely independent sectarian groups.²⁷¹

A second type of protest in the Eastern church is intellectual and spiritualist, with interesting sociological consequences. Here the influence of the Western evangelical movements can be felt, though the imminent trend of development should not be underestimated. Theodosius the Squint-eyed (sixteenth century) gathered protestants around him who were opposed to all ritual, with the intention of welding together all true "sons of God" into an equalitarian communist community.²⁷² The Shaloput, whose brotherhood is guided by reason and the all-present Spirit, were anti-sacramental and anti-ecclesiastical.²⁷³ In the Russia of the Middle Ages and later, "prophets" and saints had lived lives directed by the dictation of the Spirit and culminating in religious ecstasy—all within the church. With modern times and the evangelical influence, spiritualism in Russia produced a more radical sociological effect. Kapiton, the founder of the Self-immolators or chain-bearers, whose followers "dwelt in woods until 1691, evading divine service, the sacraments, and old faith";²⁷⁴ Suslov, the prophet of the Khlysty, first of a succession of incarnations of Christ and first helmsman of a Khlysty "ship";²⁷⁵ Selivanov, who led a radical ascetic secession from the Khlysty community and thus became the founder of the Skoptsy, which he organized more strictly than the mother-group was;²⁷⁶ the fathers of the Dukhobors' spiritual brotherhood²⁷⁷—all of these radical protestants became heads of independent sectarian movements outside the church, against whose teachings, rites, and organization they and their forerunner objected.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 74 ff.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 79 ff., 114 ff.

²⁷³ Cf. "Russische Sekten" (art.), in *RGG* (2nd ed.), IV, 2162.

²⁷⁴ Miliukov, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

²⁷⁵ Conybeare, *op. cit.*, Part III; Miliukov, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

²⁷⁶ Conybeare, *op. cit.*, Part III; Miliukov, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff.

²⁷⁷ Conybeare, *op. cit.*, Part III; Miliukov, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.; J. F. C. Wright, *Slava Bohu: The Story of the Dukhobors* (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940).

B. FORMS OF PROTEST: INDIVIDUALISM; NEW GROUPING

So we find that protests may remain individual and may become collective, may be transitory and may become permanent, may be collectively voiced within the main body or may lead to withdrawal. New sociologically important forms of organization develop from that.

Ernst Troeltsch, in studying the social teachings of Protestantism, distinguishes between the following types of organization: the reformed church (Lutheran, Calvinist, etc.), spiritualism and mysticism, and sects.²⁷⁸ Each of these types of protest, as Troeltsch rightfully observes, represents sociologically significant attitudes. Troeltsch, however, fails adequately to clarify the criteria which would enable us to classify generally historical protests according to this scheme. The study of the historical origin of groups which result from protest is important but insufficient. Another question must also be answered. Do certain religious concepts and attitudes necessarily imply or favour certain sociological consequences? ²⁷⁹

A positive answer to this question might be given in the case of *mysticism*, which favours individualism. The term "mysticism" is used in a wider and in a narrower sense. The latter is to be preferred. It points to a type of religious experience which has been described as the development of the empirical into the true self or as the realization of the self's divine destination in its union with the deity. In other words, it concerns the individual and innermost self. The "I" is, as one of the greatest authorities on the subject puts it, the "point of departure". In her studies in mysticism, Evelyn Underhill describes the "awakening", the "purification" and "illumination" of the self,²⁸⁰ following in her

²⁷⁸ Troeltsch, *Social Teachings*, chap. iii; Barclay, *Inner Life*, chap. xvii; Whiting, *English Puritanism*, chap. vi, on the "minor sects" (Millenarians, Ranters, etc.); R. M. Jones, *Mysticism and Democracy*, chaps. iv and v.

²⁷⁹ Johannes Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung*, rightly discriminates between mysticism and spiritualism, identifying the *täuferische Nachfolge* as a distinct sociological type (cf. John Horsch, *Mennonite History* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Pub. House, 1942), Vol. I). Recently the attitude towards the Bible (New Testament) has been suggested as a criterion for classification (cf. Robert Friedmann, "Conception of the Anabaptists", *CH*, IX (1940), 341 ff.).

²⁸⁰ Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (Methuen, 1911), chap. i, and esp. Part II. Cf. John Morison Moore, *Theories of Religious Experience* (New York: Round Table Press, 1938), pp. 190 ff., for a critical examination of theories of mysticism; cf. also Friedrich Heiler, *Prayer and Die Bedeutung der Mystik für die Weltreligionen* (München; Ernst Reinhardt, 1919); "Mystik" (art.), in *RGG*, IV, 334 ff.; Thomas Hywel Hughes, *The Philosophic Basis of Mysticism* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1937).

analysis of the mystical path classical examples. The term "introversion", which she uses to describe this type of experience, is well chosen; it underlines the tendency which the Greek word *muein* implies: to close one's self up against the outer world, and with it against society, as against all distracting and disturbing influences. From this interpretation of mysticism, which emphasizes its individualistic character, differs that of another outstanding student of mystical religion and life, Rufus Jones.²⁸¹ He has traced with great sympathy and understanding collective movements of mystical tinge, especially in Germany and England during the Middle Ages and in the beginnings of modern times. In one of his latest books this great scholar reviews the sociological implications of the mystical teachings in the English seventeenth century.²⁸² Yet, even in the groups he treats, the individualistic inclination of the mystic looms large. So we should feel justified in stating that "isolation" is constitutive of mystical religion. Mystical fellowship can but be characterized, by a term Ernst Troeltsch coined, as a "parallelism of spontaneities". The last-named author, whose weakness is a lack of understanding of the true nature of mystical experience, fails to specify and to illustrate types of mystical fellowship.²⁸³

Because mystical experience is ultimately incommunicable, there remain mainly two forms of sociality in which the mystic will participate: human companionship in what concerns all daily life and mutual support in the protest directed against traditional religious forms and institutions. The degree of intimacy and duration of the first and the amount of radicalism of the latter varies in different geographical, temporal, and cultural contexts. Very rarely do we find strict organization in mystical groups. Where it develops, other factors are usually at play. It should be remembered that we find mystical elements

²⁸¹ Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1909); *The Flowering of Mysticism: The Friends of God in the Fourteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939); and *Spiritual Reformers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1914).

²⁸² Rufus M. Jones, *Mysticism and Democracy*, esp. pp. 25 ff. on the intensity of religious life and the "mystical group influence". The Seekers, characterized in chap. iii, are all "unconcerned about the visible Church" (p. 61); one group feels that "the Church is no longer needed in the world" (p. 71). Cf. there on Everett, Saltmarsh, and others. All these "Seekers" are individual mystics. The only real group Jones discussed is the "Family of Love" (pp. 126 ff.), which, sharing in the protest against all "forensic religion", "produced an intense mystical climate for each aspiring member to share and to live in" (p. 1). Cf. there (p. 129) on its hierarchical organization (elders, seraphims, etc.).

²⁸³ Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, Part III, p. 4. Failure to appreciate the nature of mystical experience: "Die religiöse Urproduktion . . . ist . . . daher nie mystisch".

in all kinds of religious thought and in various forms of religious devotion—purely mystical piety has always been rare. In so-called “cult mysticism” the emphasis is on the individual subjective mystic interpretation of objective and communal acts of devotion and worship.

In the circle of the founder, described above (sec. 6), there is usually an element of mysticism which characterizes the experience of those who comprise it. Other examples of mystical fellowship we find in the mystery society, the brotherhood, and the sect. In the history of larger groups we meet frequently with individual mystics and smaller mystical groups (Neo-Platonists in Greece, Sufis in Islam, Kabbalists and Chassidim in Judaism, Taoists in China, and all forms of Brahmanist and Hindu devotees).²⁸⁴ In Christianity mystical fellowships are to be found in the Eastern church (Hesychasts; Startsy); in the medieval Western church (St. Victor; German and Italian monastics from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries); and in post-Tridentine Catholicism and Protestantism (English, Dutch, later French and Spanish circles; Lutheran groups of the Baroque era).

A thorough study of individual protests²⁸⁵ indicates that the number of those who reject any religious fellowship is quite fully balanced by the protestants who favour it. In other words, a protest against the traditional forms of religious expression does not necessarily exclude plans for the establishment of a *new religious community* or for initiating a reorganization and re-orientation within the traditional one. The theoretical difficulties may be resolved by a return to the beginnings of the faith or by an accommodation to contemporary philosophy, and the schematic concept of the religious community might envisage a *covenant*.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ See below, nn. 317–19, 335, 366–67; above, nn. 85 ff.; and below, chap. vi, n. 325; cf. Rudolf Otto, *Westöstliche Mystik* (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1926), trans. Bertha L. Bracey and R. C. Payne as *Mysticism in East and West: A Comparative Analysis of the Nature of Mysticism* (Macmillan Co., 1932); Hilko Wiardo Schomerus, *Meister Eckhart und Manikka Vashagar: Mystik auf deutschem und indischem Boden* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1936); Surendra Nath Dasgupta, *Hindu Mysticism* (“Norman Wait Harris Foundation Lectures” (Chicago and London: Open Court Pub. Co., 1927)); Abdul Ela Afifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibn ul Arabi* (Cambridge University Press, 1939); Edward Jabra Jurji, *Illumination in Islamic Mysticism* (London: Oxford University Press; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938).

²⁸⁵ Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II; Erich Seeberg, *Gottfried Arnold*, chaps. v and vi, esp. pp. 175 ff., 188 ff.

²⁸⁶ On Continental *Foedus* theology cf. Gottfried Schrenck, *Gottesreich und Bund* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1927); Grete Möller, “Föderaltheologie im XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts”, *ZfK*, L (1931), 393 ff. For the different “covenant” concepts (“giving one up to God and then to one another”)—oral or written, more or less solemn, more or less conditioned—in early Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and among the Baptists on the Continent and in America, see Champlin Burrage, *The*

fellowship, or *society*²⁸⁷ instead of an ecclesiastical body.²⁸⁸ The aim is to establish within or without the central body an example of true communion. The ideal of the New England Puritans, which their historian thus formulates, might serve as an example: "Flowing from piety, from the tremendous thrust of the Reformation and the living force of theology, came a desire to realize on earth the perfect church order, cleansed of corruption and purified of all unregeneracy. At the same time, springing from the traditions of the past, from the deep and wordless sense of the tribe, the organic community, came a desire to intensify the social bond, to strengthen the cohesion of the folk."²⁸⁹

The course which the development in protesting groups takes is determined by various factors. Apparently the personal charisma of a leader powerful enough to attract and unite a group of followers is essential; a certain amount of creativity on the part of the leader also is necessary, as well as clarity of principles and a conception of the religious community which will allow for the development of a permanent organization within or without the larger religious body. The problem inevitably arises whether the new group can realize its ideals within the framework of the larger society, as *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, as is the case with the monastic orders and brotherhoods, or whether a new community must needs be formed. The answer to this question can be anticipated, in the first place, by an examination of the initial impulse of a given religious movement and its basic concepts by which the new structural form might be predetermined; second, by a study of the history of the larger group, to determine the extent to which it is susceptible to reforming influences of leading personalities; and, third, by an inquiry into the internal and external circum-

Church Covenant Idea: Its Origin and Development (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1904), and *The Early English Dissenters*, who traces the idea back to the "Anabaptists". Typical is the Covenant of Salem, Massachusetts: "We covenant with God and one with another" (Burrage, *Covenant Idea*, p. 88). Cf. Perry Miller, *New England Mind*, esp. chaps. xiii ff. and App. B; Robert Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (2nd ed.; London, 1877), is still valuable (cf. esp. chaps. vi and xi ff.); Rufus Jones, *Mysticism and Democracy*, chap. ii.

²⁸⁷ Cf. the organization of the Universalist Society by John Murray in Richard Eddy, *History of Universalism* (ACHS, Vol. X (1894)), pp. 255 ff.

²⁸⁸ Cf., for the contract ideas in the theological and political discussion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Grotius, Thomasius, Witenbogert, etc.), Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung*, chap. vi, p. 3; Seeberg, *Gottfried Arnold*, pp. 498 ff.; Erich Wolf, *Grotius, Pufendorf, Thomasius* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1927); Fossey John Cobb Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas from the Middle Ages to the Victorian Age* (London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1926), esp. chaps. vi and vii, and the bibliography in chap. vii.

²⁸⁹ Perry Miller, *New England Mind*, p. 440.

stances which could transform the direction of the policy of the reform movement or its theological ideals.

There are three major categories of protest: dissent in the field of doctrine, criticism of the cultic expression, and objection to the nature or development of the organizational structure. In most cases the tendency is to revert back to the original experience of the founder or of the early community.²⁹⁰ This reorientation to the founder may vary from mystical contemplation aiming at spiritual union to the active imitation and emulation by an individual or group of his²⁹¹ and his disciples'²⁹² habits and ways of life.

The protest, whether individual or collective, is often effective in bringing about desired changes without splitting the community; sometimes it is able to re-establish unity even after such a break. Various motives—religious, cultural, political, and social—may determine the ultimate development of the reform movement. It is significant that some of the great modern religious movements have developed into new ecclesiastical bodies based on original views or on revised versions of the traditional doctrine, cult, or organization. The Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican churches developed from the protest²⁹³ of the Reformers²⁹⁴ and their predecessors.²⁹⁵ The Mennonite churches go back to Menno

²⁹⁰ On the concept of corruption (*Verfall*) of the main body and its history cf. esp. Herbert Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Floris* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927), chap. iii; Erich Seeberg, *Gottfried Arnold*, pp. 69–70, 94 ff., 297 ff., and 183–84 (on the idea of “simplicitas” as sociologically relevant norm); Benz, *Ecclesia spiritualis*, pp. 285 ff.

²⁹¹ Cf. the excellent article “Nachfolge Christi”, in *RGG*, IV, 396 ff., and Kühn, *op. cit.*, chap. iv, characterizing the attitude of a distinct type of piety by its emphasis on the “imitative” idea. Cf. also: Benz (*op. cit.*) on St. Francis’ *imitatio* (pp. 97 ff.). There (pp. 224 ff.) on Gerardino’s and (pp. 256 ff.) Olivi’s ideas and the role of Francis, Joachim, and Olivi in Angelo Clareno’s concepts.

²⁹² On the role of the concept of the “disciple community” cf. above, n. 135; also below nn. 267, 482, and 490.

²⁹³ The general idea of “protest”, irrespective of the characteristically different sociological formations springing from it, is stressed in earlier studies like Barclay, *The Inner Life*; Douglas Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America: An Introduction to American History* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1892); John William Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (Methuen, 1928). Cf. also Wilhelm Pauck, “The Nature of Protestantism”, *CH*, VI (1937), 3 ff., who follows Heinrich Frick’s suggestion of an “eternal” type of Protestant piety (pp. 9 ff.).

²⁹⁴ *CMH*, Vol. II: “The Reformation”; James MacKinnon, *The Origins of the Reformation* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939), esp. chaps. iv, viii–ix, xx. On Calvin’s protest see James MacKinnon, *Calvin and the Reformation* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936); recent bibliography by Pauck, *CH*, X (1941), 305 ff.

²⁹⁵ Kamil Krofta, “John Hus”, *CMedH*, Vol. VIII, chap. ii; George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899); Herbert Brook Workman, *John Wiclif: A Study of the English Mediaeval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926); B. L. Manning, “Wicliff”, *CMedH*, Vol. VII, chap. xvi; Herbert Maynard Smith, *Prereformation in England* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1938); George V. Jourdan, *The Movement toward Catholic Reform in the Early Sixteenth Century* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1914).

Simons' opposition to the church of his day. The Methodist church is based on John Wesley's protest;²⁹⁶ the Salvation Army on that of William Booth.²⁹⁷

We find such protests *outside Christianity* in other religions too. The Mohammedan Shia is the outcome of the protest of the followers of Ali.²⁹⁸ The Kharijite community protested and seceded in the early period²⁹⁹ of Islam.³⁰⁰ The Wahhabi of Arabia are often called the "Puritan Protestants" of Islam.³⁰¹ The *khalsa* of the Sikh owes its existence to the protest of Nanak;³⁰² the Brahmo-Somaj, to Rammohun Rai's protest against Hinduism.³⁰³ The Yellow church of Lamaism came into being through the protest of Tsong-khapa.³⁰⁴ Some of the great Mahayana communities, the Chinese and the Japanese in particular, are derived from similar "protests". The reaction of the "sects" of the Buddhist's "Great Awakening" was directed against the intellectual, cultic, and political concepts and practices of the Nara schools. The Amida schools³⁰⁵ objected on theological grounds to the necessity and efficacy of works (ritual, morality, knowledge, meditation), insisting on the principle of redeeming faith, and also objected on social grounds to the aristocratic monopoly of the higher clergy. Nichiren's protest was aimed at the elaborate and supernaturalistic theology, the ritualistic cult, and the aristocratic limitation of contemporary—thirteenth century—Buddhism; it was, in other words, a theological, cultic, and social

²⁹⁶ For the Mennonites cf. Horsch, *Mennonite History*, chap. xxiii. An excellent appreciation of Methodism and the "protest" of its founder in historic perspective is in Maximin Piette, *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism* (Sheed & Ward, 1937). The author is a Franciscan friar, and the Introduction is by a Catholic bishop and a Methodist minister.

²⁹⁷ William Hamilton Nelson, *Blood and Fire: General William Booth* (New York and London: Century Co., 1929); St. John Greer Ervine, *God's Soldier: General William Booth* (Heinemann, 1934).

²⁹⁸ Dwight M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak* (London: Luzac & Co., 1933). On Indian Shiah see Murray Thurston Titus, *Indian Islam*, chap. v.

²⁹⁹ Even the Mutazila is, according to Nyberg ("Mutazila" (art.), in *EI*, III, 787), a politico-religious protest movement.

³⁰⁰ Wensinck, *The Moslem Creed*, chap. iii; W. Thomson, "The Early Moslem Sects", in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to K. Lake*.

³⁰¹ Richard Hartmann, "Die Wahhabiten", *ZDMG*, LXX (1924), 176 ff. Cf. also below, chap. vi, sec. 8, and chap. vii, n. 107.

³⁰² On the Sikh cf. below, sec. 12, n. 521.

³⁰³ John Nicol Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (Macmillan, 1915); "Some Modern Reform Movements", in *CHI*, II, 397 ff.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Charles Alfred Bell, *The Religion of Tibet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), pp. 95 ff.

³⁰⁵ Hans Haas, *Amida Buddha unsere Zuflucht* (Göttingen: Vandenhöck & Rupprecht, 1910); Harper Havelock Coates and Ryugaku Ishizuka, *Honen, the Buddhist Saint: His Life and Teaching* (Kyoto: Chionin, 1925); Gessho Sasaki, *A Study of Shin Buddhism* (Kyoto: Eastern Buddhist Society, 1925) (life of Shinran, pp. 97 ff.).

reaction.³⁰⁶ Emphasis on the integrating national function of Buddhism in Japan was also included in Nichiren's protest. The parallel to Western protests like Luther's is more striking here than with any other Buddhist reform group. The Zen school also arose from the protest against all intellectual, mechanical, and institutionalized religion, insisting upon personal experience as a reaction against the over-emphasis on external morality or ritual observance; it centres in the practice of meditation upon the fundamental truths.

As we have seen, protests may be partial or all-inclusive, mild or severe, casual or based on principle.³⁰⁷ They may be voiced either by religious functionaries, thinkers, and scholars, by representatives of different groups or status in society, or, finally, by individuals of whatever origin, position, occupation, or rank.

There is, as previously demonstrated (chap. ii, sec. 2), considerable variety in the development of the *theoretical* expression of a central religious experience. This is due not only to differences in temperament and character of the interpreters but also to variations in current modes of thought, such as rational and irrational, intellectual and mystical. The resultant opinions are considered "orthodox" if they appear to be based on "sound" deduction from established principles or on correct dogmatic exegesis, however tendentious.³⁰⁸ They are regarded as "theologoumena" as long as no authority is established to decide on their "orthodoxy" or until such authority rejects or ratifies them. The various great ecclesiastical bodies have not followed the same procedures in setting up such a normative authority. The Roman Catholic church has most clearly enunciated the exclusive right of its head (formerly in co-operation with the councils of the church) to fix dogma and to define normatively the faith of the church. The Eastern Orthodox church reserves to the *sobor* (council) the right to determine the orthodoxy of the theologoumena as propounded by the theologians.³⁰⁹ The Lutheran church, lacking a central authority, has reserved to the highest council the right of alternative decision in disputed cases, but has left wide scope to the theologians for the discussion and interpreta-

³⁰⁶ Mahasaru Anesaki, *Nichiren the Buddhist Prophet* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1916); Kishio Satomi, *Japanese Civilization: Its Significance and Realization, Nichirenism and the Japanese National Principles* (New York, 1924), esp. pp. 55 ff.

³⁰⁷ Paul Tillich interprets the nature of historical Protestantism as permanent protest in *The Religious Situation* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1932).

³⁰⁸ The suggestions for a typology made by Johannes Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung*, chap. i, should be re-examined and followed out.

³⁰⁹ Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church*, chap. iii, esp. pp. 80 ff. on *sobornost*.

tion of dogma.³¹⁰ Similarly, the Anglican church stresses less the doctrinal elements than conformity in worship, permitting wide latitude and personal freedom in belief.³¹¹ The Reformed church, on the other hand, has always strongly and strictly emphasized the doctrinal aspect of religion.³¹²

In Mohammedanism the confidence of the founder that his community would never agree on an error is expressed in the principle of *ijmaʿ* (common agreement), which was originally voiced by the whole body of the faithful and later became the privilege of the students of religious law and tradition.³¹³ Within the limits laid down by the normative sources—scriptures, tradition (*hadith*), consensus (*ijmaʿ*), and analogy (*Qiyas*)—Moslem theologians are free to express what views they will.³¹⁴ In Buddhism there is no central authority to determine "orthodoxy". In its early period we hear of various councils which rejected certain views and practices, particularly in matters of discipline, and ordered the expulsion of certain nonconformists. Even in Mahayana Buddhism and in its subdivisions no definition of orthodoxy has ever been established.³¹⁵ The Zoroastrian body, on the other hand, developed strict norms in matters of faith and emphasized considerably the theoretical rejection of heterodoxy.³¹⁶

"Heresy" thus occurs only under conditions pictured above, and consists either in involuntary deviation from a prescribed doctrine or in conscious and deliberate protest against it. The great semi-esoteric cultic and mystical movements in Judaism

³¹⁰ Cf. the famous trials before the "Evangelische Oberkirchenrat" in the united (*unierte*) state-church in Prussia before World War I (cases of the ministers Jatho, Traub, etc.).

³¹¹ Cf. *Doctrine in the Church of England: Report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine Appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922* (S.P.C.K., 1928), esp. pp. 36 ff.; Henson, *The Church of England*, chap. iv (cf. "subscription"); Arthur Gabriel Hebert, *Liturgy and Society: The Function of the Church in the Modern World* (London: Faber & Faber, 1939), chap. vii, esp. pp. 177 ff.

³¹² Cf. Robert Ellis Thompson, *A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States* (ACHS, Vol. VI (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1895)), p. 6.

³¹³ Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, esp. chap. ii on the development of the doctrine of God; chaps. vi–viii on the two great creeds (*Fiqh al akbar*) and their content; and chap. ix on the later development ("growing intellectualism").

³¹⁴ On heresy in Islam see "Murtadd" (art.), in *EI*, III, 737 ff. Cf. Theodor Haarbrücker's translation of Muhammed Al Shahrastani's famous *Religionsparteien und Philosophenschulen* (Halle, 1850 ff.). On the classical "seventy-three" divisions cf. Ignaz Goldziher, "Die dogmatische Partei der Salimijja", *ZDMG*, LXI (1907), 73 ff. His work, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920), was not accessible to the author.

³¹⁵ The most exclusive and "fanatic" group in Buddhism would be the Nichiren school, but even there the leading people are no zealots (Pratt, *Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. xxi). Cf. above, n. 306.

³¹⁶ Christensen, *L'Iran*, chaps. vi and vii. Cf. the interesting refutations of heretical views in later Pahlavi texts, esp. the *Shkand-gumanik-vizar*.

throughout its history, such as the Baptizing groups,³¹⁷ the Kabbalists,³¹⁸ and the Chassidim,³¹⁹ are, like Sufism in Islam and Zen in Buddhism, examples of protests whose individual or collective, orthodox or heterodox aspects varied at different times. In Christianity the orthodoxy of many individual mystical seekers, preachers, and teachers has often been questioned.³²⁰ Trials during lifetime (Meister Eckhart), suspicion (Jan Ruysbroeck, Jacob Böhme), inquiries after death (David Joris, Valentin Weigel), and controversies after centuries (Joachim of Flora)³²¹ are the touchstones.³²² The same is true of spiritualist thinkers like Caspar Schwenckfeld, Sebastian Franck, and Hans Denck.³²³

The protest of many a critic is voiced in the interest of *reason* rather than faith. A long line of critical, rationalist schools, many of whom were considered as heretical, can be traced in the history of religious communities and ecclesiastical bodies³²⁴ (Pelagianism, Nominalism, Arminianism, Latitudinarianism, Deism, Neology, Unitarianism in Christianity; Aristotelianism and "Enlightenment" in Judaism;³²⁵ and Mutazila in Islam).³²⁶ To study these trends and schools is in part the concern of the history of philosophy; the history of religion in general offers ample material for the study of heretics and their philosophy, psychology,

³¹⁷ Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums* (3rd ed.), chaps. xxiii and xxiv ("Nebenformen jüdischer Frömmigkeit").

³¹⁸ The best summary of the Cabbalistic doctrine is Gerhard Scholem, "Kabbalah" in *EJ*, IX, 630 ff.

³¹⁹ Lazar Gulkowitsch, *Der Chasidismus* (Leipzig: J. B. Hinrichs, 1918); Jakob Samuel Minkin, *The Romance of Hassidism* (Macmillan Co., 1935); Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* ("Hilda Stich Strook Lectures" (Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 1941)).

³²⁰ Cf. the analysis of Catholic and Protestant theories of persecution by Roland Herbert Bainton, "The Struggle for Religious Liberty", *CH*, IX (1940), 98 ff.

³²¹ Frederic Palmer, *Heretics, Saints, and Martyrs* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925), chap. ii; Herbert Grundmann, *Joachim von Floris*, chap. iv; Benz, *Ecclesia spiritualis*, pp. 125 ff.; Evelyn Underhill, "Mediaeval Mysticism", *CMH*, VIII, 26 ff.; A. S. Turberville, "Heresies", *CMH*, Vol. VI, chap. xx.

³²² On the great mystics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries cf. Rufus M. Jones, *The Flowering of Mysticism*, chaps. iv ff.

³²³ On Sebastian Franck see *RGG*, II, 649 ff.; on the sociology of spiritualism see Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, pp. 848 ff.; Roland Herbert Bainton, *David Joris: Wiedertäufer und Kämpfer für Toleranz im Sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1937), p. 8; Rufus M. Jones, *Mysticism and Democracy*; Horsch, *Mennonite History*, esp. pp. 299 ff.

³²⁴ Cf. Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II; Rufus Jones, *Spiritual Reformers*, chaps. ii, iv, and vi; Joseph Henri Allen, *A History of the Unitarians* (*ACHS*, Vol. X (1894)); Seeberg, *Gottfried Arnold*, esp. pp. 280 ff., 535 ff.; Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung*, chap. vi; Miliukov, *Russian Culture*, Vol. I, chap. vi, p. 114, and below, n. 437.

³²⁵ On the Haskalah cf. "Haskalah" (art.), in *EJ*, III, 667 ff.

³²⁶ Cf. below, n. 368.

and sociology.³²⁷ Some eventually conform and formally or informally renounce their teachings, while others are driven by opposition into even more radical positions. All this has definite sociological implications.³²⁸ On the one hand, they may be abandoned by their followers and have to stand alone.³²⁹ It is in some instances difficult to ascertain whether this "splendid isolation" is the result or the cause of the religious dissent. On the other hand, the new teachings might appeal to a large number of adherents, and the "heretic" may, wittingly or not, form a new group sharing in his experience and integrated by his leadership. He thus becomes an active schismatic. Sometimes the schism is formed only after the death of the leader but derives its inspiration and norms from his teachings.³³⁰

Notwithstanding obviously gross differences in content, certain similarities in general pattern are noticeable in all "heretical" movements. Deviations may concern issues of a particular doctrine (cosmology, anthropology, soteriology, eschatology, ethics) or general principles of method and procedure. Controversial is, for example, the use (language) and interpretation of normative writings. Deviations may consist in the elimination or addition of certain elements or in a shift of emphasis. It is interesting to view comparatively the history of Gnostics like Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion; of Montanus, Novatian,

³²⁷ Cf. John Henry Blunt, *Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.; London: Rivington, 1870). The eighteenth century developed a special interest in tracing "*Ketzergeschichte*" (since Gottfried Arnold). A period in modern study is marked by Robert Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the English Commonwealth*. Cf. Erich Seeberg, *Gottfried Arnold*; Walter Nigg, *Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung: Grundzüge ihrer historischen Entwicklung* (München: C. H. Beck, 1934), pp. 76 ff. On some of the outstanding modern individual religious thinkers (Sebastian Franck, etc.) cf. Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II, and Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, p. 862 (sociology of spiritualism). Cf. also A. S. Turberville, "Heresies in the Middle Ages", *CMedH*, Vol. VI, chap. xx; Wilbur Kitchener Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Beginning of the English Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth* (Allen & Unwin, 1932), discussing the attitude of main Christian bodies towards heresy (esp. pp. 375 ff.); Ronald Matthews, *English Messiahs: Studies of Six English Religious Pretenders (1656-1927)* (London: Methuen & Co., 1936); Jones, *Mysticism and Democracy*, chap. v. Cf. also below, nn. 427 ff.

³²⁸ On the development of "Modernism" cf. Herbert Leslie Stewart, *Modernism, Past and Present* (London: J. Murray, 1932).

³²⁹ Cf. Hermann Schmalenbach, "Die Genealogie der Einsamkeit", in *Logos: Internationale Zeitschrift für Philosophie der Kultur* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr), Vol. VIII (1920); Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1928), sec. 32; and above, chap. ii, sec. 4c. There is much interesting material in Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: The Author, 1899), and in the notes to sec. 12 below.

³³⁰ Cf., e.g., some twelfth- and thirteenth-century leaders: Amaury de Bène; Siger of Brabant (Pierre Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIII^e siècle* (2nd ed.; Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1911); Alphanéry, *op. cit.*); among the *fraticelli*: Segarelli and Dolcino, Olivi and Villanova (A. S. Turberville, "Heresies", *GMH*, VI, 709 ff.).

Arius, Nestorius, Sabellius, Constantinus Silvanus, Joachim of Flora, of Meister Eckhardt, Hus, Luther, Karlstadt, Schwenckfeld, Calvin, Zwingli, Spener, Labadie, Menno Simons, Zinzendorf, Fox, Wesley, Beissel, William Miller, Joseph Smith, Mary Baker Eddy, and others in Christianity and on its borders; and of Hasan Basri, al-Junaid, al-Hallaj, and Ibn ul-Arabi in Islam; of Mazdak in Persia; of Nichiren, Eisai, Honen, and Shinran in Japan; of Shankara, Ramanuja, Ramananda, Chaitanya, Rammohun Rai, and Ramakrishna in Hinduism.

II. SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF PROTEST WITHIN: "ECCLESIOLOA IN ECCLESIA"

Let us now consider the groups which are formed *within* the ecclesiastical body itself to protest against its policies, against "compromise" and "laxity" which it considers pernicious. These criticisms, generally mild, may be directed against doctrinal tenets, elements in the cult, or organization. The last is the primary object of censure among those desirous of raising the religious and ethical standards of the body without provoking a split. Their motto is necessarily *ecclesiola in ecclesia*.

This term, which we propose to use in a technical sense, was introduced by Spener, father of Pietism, to designate his *collegia pietatis*.³³¹ Accepting the current Lutheran division of society in estates (ruling, trading, and domestic classes), he aimed at a religious revival mainly within the third. According to his *pia desideria*, propagation of the gospel (the priesthood of the laity), practical Christianity, tolerance of outsiders, theological learning, and edification should be encouraged by means of special assemblies. Luther's reformation would thus be completed and the early days, the ancient apostolic way ("die alte apostolische Art"), in which the principle of love prevailed and doctrinal differences were unimportant, would live again. Yet Spener refused to appear as a reformer,³³² and separation was effected only by certain groups which claimed to follow him. He himself hesitated to divorce himself from the Lutheran church, and the most prominent of his modern critics has testified to the loyalty

³³¹ Albrecht Ritschl's famous *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Bonn: A. Marcus, 1880 ff.) is very unsatisfactory in its treatment and evaluation of the *collegia pietatis* and in the one-sided presentation of Spener's and Zinzendorf's personality and work (esp. Books V and VIII).

³³² *Ibid.*, II, 126 ff., 135 ff., 142, 157, 159.

of his theological views.³³³ Yet Spener encouraged separatism through his criticism of the church and his lenient attitude towards radical experiments in worship. On the other hand, Spener opposed a radical contemporary preacher who had refused to administer the sacraments because he considered his congregation a group of sinners, with the characteristically Lutheran argument that, wherever the word of God was heard collectively ("in einem Haufen"), the sacraments were administered and that, where the group testified to its Christian character, there was "the church". Zinzendorf finally effected the separation which Spener had avoided, just as Labadie was to effect the separation in the Reformed church which his predecessor, Lodensteyn, had skirted in his attempts at reform.³³⁴ It was no accident that Spener and other organizers of smaller groups within Protestant bodies were sympathetic to certain devotional groups in the Roman Catholic church which were moved by the quietistic mysticism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries³³⁵ (Teresa, Molinos, Juan de la Cruz). Terstegen, who was influenced by Poirer and his circle, represents the same spirit in the Reformed church.³³⁶

A. THE "COLLEGIUM PIETATIS"

The intermediate step between individual protest and complete separation is characterized by groups which neither identify themselves, and themselves exclusively, with the ideal community nor attempt to set themselves up as a special unit within it, but rather advocate a characteristic attitude, forms of devotion, or concepts which frequently aim at the eventual conversion of the entire community. They consider themselves as the "leaven of the gospel".³³⁷ Examples of this type of group would be found

³³³ *Ibid.*, chaps. xxx ff., esp. pp. 103 ff., 148. Cf., on Separatists among Spener's followers, *ibid.*, chap. xxxii. On Arnold's relation to Spener see Erich Seeberg, *Gottfried Arnold*, pp. 335 ff. and chap. iii, sec. 6.

³³⁴ On Zinzendorf's secession see Jakob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism among Early Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1933); on Labadie see *RGG*, III, 1946 ff.; Ritschl, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

³³⁵ On the quietistic mysticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see Heinrich Hepp, *Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik in der katholischen Kirche* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1875). On Terstegen and his group see Ritschl, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chap. xxi, esp. p. 478; Seeberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 327 ff. On his disapproval of Arnold's separation, *ibid.*, pp. 338 ff. Cf. also above, n. 244; Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France*, and Edgar Allison Peers, *Spanish Mysticism: A Preliminary Survey* (London: Methuen & Co., 1924).

³³⁶ On the attitude of Wesley towards Quietism cf. Piette, *John Wesley*, pp. 356 ff., and below, n. 481.

³³⁷ This viewpoint is well developed by Ritschl, *op. cit.*, I, 94-95.

in Gerhard Groote and the early brotherhood of the Common Life,³³⁸ Voet and Lodensteyn in Holland,³³⁹ Spener,³⁴⁰ the early Zinzendorf,³⁴¹ the first Puritans,³⁴² the early United Brethren (Otterbein),³⁴³ and the Oxford Tractarian movement of the nineteenth century.³⁴⁴ For lack of a better term we call these groups *collegia pietatis*. In other words, there is a loosely organized group, limited in numbers and united in a common enthusiasm, peculiar convictions, intense devotion, and rigid discipline, which is striving to attain higher spiritual and moral perfection than can be realized under prevailing conditions. They meet for definite purposes—for prayer, meditation, reading, edification. The “meeting” is the typical sociological expression of the piety of these *collegia*. In the Schwenckfeld group,³⁴⁵ among the English and Dutch “seekers”,³⁴⁶ in German Pietism,³⁴⁷ the Russian Stundists,³⁴⁸ the early Society of Friends,³⁴⁹ in English Methodism in its early phases,³⁵⁰ in the Great Awakening movement in the United

³³⁸ Rufus M. Jones, *The Flowering of Mysticism*, chap. xiii; Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the “Devotio Moderna”* (New York and London: Century Co., 1925), pp. 43 ff.; Julius Hashagen, “Die ‘devotio moderna’”, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LV (1936), 523 ff.

³³⁹ Ritschl, *Pietismus*, Vol. II, chaps. vii and ix; Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, pp. 781, 841.

³⁴⁰ *RGG*, V, 685; *PrRE*, XVIII, 609 ff.

³⁴¹ Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, chap. i.

³⁴² Bibliography above, sec. 10, n. 252.

³⁴³ D. Berger, *History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (ACHS, Vol. XII), pp. 309 ff.

³⁴⁴ Herbert Leslie Stewart, *A Century of Anglo-Catholicism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1929), chaps. i–vi; Bernard Nicolas Ward, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781–1803* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909); Richard William Church, *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833–1845* (London and New York: Macmillan Co., 1900, 1932).

³⁴⁵ On Schwenckfeld see Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers*, chap. v, esp. pp. 82 ff.; Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung*, pp. 140 ff.

³⁴⁶ Rufus Jones, *op. cit.*, chaps. vii and xiii.

³⁴⁷ “Latitudinarianism and Pietism” (art.), in *CMH*, V, 742 ff.; Ritschl, *op. cit.*; Hans R. G. Günther, *Jung-Stilling* (München: E. Reinhardt, 1928); on American Pietist groups cf. below, chap. vi, sec. 8, and below, n. 351.

³⁴⁸ Miliukov, *Russian Culture*, I, 105 ff.

³⁴⁹ A. Neave Brayshaw, *The Quakers: Their Story and Message* (Allen & Unwin, 1938); Rufus M. Jones, “The Faith and Practice of the Quakers”, in *The Faiths: Varieties of Christian Expression*, ed. L. P. Jacks (London: Methuen & Co. (n.d.)); Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (Macmillan Co., 1942), esp. chap. ii; Whiting, *English Puritanism*, chaps. iv and v.

³⁵⁰ Cf. J. M. Buckley, *A History of Methodists* (ACHS, Vol. V (New York: Christian Century Co., 1876)), pp. 92–93, 108, 142 (“no new sect or church”); and esp. Dimond, *Psychology of Methodist Revival*, chap. xi; Wellman Joel Warner, *The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930), esp. chap. viii; Umphrey Lee, *John Wesley and Modern Religion* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1936); Piette, *John Wesley*.

States,³⁵¹ and in the Buchman Oxford groups³⁵² we have further examples of this type of grouping.³⁵³

We can follow very clearly the growth of Methodism from Anglican *collegia*, societies, clubs, and bands into separate and fast-growing independent associations, the most prominent of which became an ecclesiastical body, while others organized themselves along equalitarian and congregational lines.³⁵⁴ New protest against the organization and discipline of the Methodist church later ripened into new schisms.³⁵⁵ The Salvation Army, particularly interesting because of the form it took after separating from Methodism,³⁵⁶ became an independent body, combining features of the order and the sect. Perfectionist groups which have not seceded can also be mentioned in this connection.

In these *collegia* the attempt is often made to revert to the experience of the beginning in order to recapture the "inspiration" of the founder and his circle.³⁵⁷ The Philadelphian concept,³⁵⁸ with its reference to the ideal community of the Book of Revelation, exemplifies this tendency and its sociological consequences.³⁵⁹ The driving power of the movement may be the desire for more intense individual experience or for a maximum of common standardized religious practices. Examples of the

³⁵¹ Albert David Belden, *George Whitfield—the Awakener: A Modern Study of the Evangelical Revival* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1930); Arthur Cushman McGiffert, *Jonathan Edwards* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1932); Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (in connection with German Pietism), chap. ii: "Freylinghuysen"; chap. iii: "The Tennants". Cf. also below, chap. vi, sec. 8, and Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, chap. ix.

³⁵² Robert Henry Murray, *Group Movements throughout the Ages* (Hodder, 1936), chap. vi: "The Oxford Group Movement" (by a member of the movement).

³⁵³ Cf. Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, (n.d.)), chap. iii. Though all the bodies there reviewed separated, some went through stages similar to the *collegium* and the *fraternitas*.

³⁵⁴ In the development of Methodism the different stages exhibit clearly different sociological forms: the "Holy Club" and the "bands": the *collegium pietatis*; the classes and societies: the *fraternitas*; then follow the separation and the growth of an ecclesiastical body. Cf. Buckley, *History of Methodists*, pp. 59 ff., 84 ff., 87 ff.; Dimond, *Methodist Revival*, pp. 210 ff. (love-feast classes); Piette, *John Wesley*, pp. 284 ff., 355 ff., 370 ff., 453 ff.; Robert L. Tucker, *The Separation of the Methodists from the Church of England* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1918).

³⁵⁵ Piette, *op. cit.*, pp. 301 ff., 355 ff., esp. pp. 453 ff.

³⁵⁶ For splits in Methodism in England cf. Buckley, *op. cit.*; in America, see Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff.; for criticism against "high" tendencies by the Nazarene church, see *ibid.*, p. 96; Salvation Army, above, n. 297.

³⁵⁷ Cf. the "inspiration communities" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which Ritschl (*Pietismus*, Vol. II, chap. xxvii) describes, moving, as other similar groups before and after, on the border line of separatism.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, chap. xxxvii; Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, chap. ii; cf. Seeberg, *Gottfried Arnold*, p. 177.

³⁵⁹ On the Philadelphian society (John Pordage, Jane Lane) see Whiting, *English Puritanism*, pp. 298 ff. The members, although living together, did not separate from their churches.

former would be found in the asceticism of the late Middle Ages and in "perfectionism" all through the ages in Christianity; in the Hesychastic movement of the eighteenth century in the Orthodox Church;³⁶⁰ in Amidism in Japanese Mahayana Buddhism; in Taoism and in Sufism in Islam. The latter type is well illustrated by groups with special devotional and liturgical practices, as in some circles in the quietistic mysticism in the Roman church, in the modern liturgical movement in Catholicism, in the Russian *raskol* and particularly the Radayev Group,³⁶¹ in the *Hochkirche* of German and Scandinavian Protestantism,³⁶² in the Tendai and Shingon, later the Zen school, in Buddhism, and in the different *tarika* (orders) of Islam. Life in the reformed circles would be either more active or more contemplative, certainly more devout, than in the normal ecclesiastical congregation. An intensified spirit of fellowship exists even in a highly individualized *collegium*.

Whereas the emphasis in the groups so far discussed is mainly on devotional practices which tend to bind the members of the *collegium pietatis* together, we find others of the same kind in which special stress is on individual attitudes. Asceticism and meritorious works are the measure and criterion for membership in the group. In early Christianity and Mohammedanism, as well as in the Buddhist Samgha, individual maximalists stressed the necessity of strict concepts, meticulous observance, and rigid selection of fellows. Small groups of ascetics are formed to carry out consistently the ideal developed from the central experience. Some of these groups are concerned not with outsiders but only with their own and their intimates' salvation. Others develop a missionary zeal which finds its salvation in "saving" others. Although they do not secede from the community, they tend to remain aloof in order to be better able to carry out their programme. Christian ascetics, recluses and anchorites of the second and third centuries in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine are typical of this type.³⁶³ These ideals are to some extent anticipated in

³⁶⁰ On the Hesychasts see Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, II, 270 ff.

³⁶¹ On the Raskolniki see Miliukov, *Russian Culture*, Vol. I, chaps. iii ff.; on Radayev and the saving repetition of a prayer to Jesus see *ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

³⁶² Cf. N. P. Williams and Charles Harris, *Northern Catholicism: Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), esp. chaps. i, iii, and xiv ff.

³⁶³ Cf. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1907), and his *The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum* (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1934). Cf. also the bibliography cited in nn. 394-425 below.

Judaism. The Nazirites, for example, were individuals who bound themselves to the observance of particular ascetic practices, in this way manifesting their special personal devotion and consecration to the Godhead. They tended on the whole to indulge more in seclusion and isolation than in gregariousness.³⁶⁴ The Rechabites, on the other hand, seem to have been originally a tribal group leading a nomadic life and committed to the ascetic ideal.³⁶⁵ The Chassidim ha-Rishonim of the Maccabean era also formed small groups who devoted themselves to ultra-pious behaviour. The same attitude prevails in primitive Islam during the first centuries of its history. Those among the early Moslems who took their religion seriously were frequently mystics as well as ascetics. Both tendencies were enhanced by a profound study of the Koran (*taqarra* and *tasawwafa*).³⁶⁶ Only later did they meet resistance from the orthodox and the rationalists. In Sunnite Islam it was only the exaggerations of Sufism that were punished; moderate practices were tolerated, and dissenters were not, as a result, forced into secession.³⁶⁷ The struggle between the Rationalist Mutazilites³⁶⁸ and their conservative adversaries³⁶⁹ brought forth new formulations of the nature of faith and fellowship.

An implicit and explicit criticism of the main body is one of the characteristic features of these movements. The separatist concept of the church as the "Babel" of the scriptures has its echoes in the complaints of the *collegia*. We have not as yet studied sufficiently the attitudes of the members of the *collegia* to one another and to outsiders. Differences in theory in this type of group are less pronounced than in other protesting groups, since greater emphasis is placed on the practical aspect of religious life. We saw that this type of protestant groups tends to emphasize the cultic element.³⁷⁰ New and intensified devotional

³⁶⁴ Walter Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testamentes* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933), I, 159 ff.

³⁶⁵ Cf. Weber, *G.A.*, III, 401 ff.

³⁶⁶ Cf. below, chap. vi, n. 325, and John Clark Archer, *Mystical Elements in Muhammad* ("Yale Oriental Series: Researches", Vol. XI (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924)).

³⁶⁷ Cf. "Tasawwuf" (art.), in *EI*, IV, 681 ff.

³⁶⁸ Cf. "Mutazila" (art.), in *EI*, III, 787 ff.; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, chap. iv.

³⁶⁹ For the interesting reaction against the Mutazila see Ignaz Goldziher, "Zur Geschichte der hanbalitischen Bewegungen", *ZDMG*, LXII (1908), 1 ff.; cf. below, chap. vi, sec. 6.

³⁷⁰ Cf. the reaction against the Iconoclasts in Byzantium led by Theodore of Studium (Adeney, *Eastern Churches*, chap. iv: "Restoration of Image Worship"; cf. also *CMedH*, Vol. IV, chaps. i and ii).

practices are instituted,³⁷¹ such as, among Christians, the kiss of peace, the right hand of fellowship, the love feast, and the washing of the feet revived by the Mennonites, Moravians, and similar groups.³⁷² Contemplation (meditation, prayer), ascetic discipline, and active charity may mark the mood of these movements.

Groups with these and similar aims have been formed throughout the history of Christianity, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Jainism. Because the history of the latter is less frequently referred to, a protest movement in the community of Mahavira's followers may be mentioned here. The separation of the Digambara and Shvetambara Jaina "schools" seems to have originated from a protest of the more puritan ancestors of the Digambara against the laxity of the main group, after the famine and exodus of Bhadrabahu (about 300 B.C.), though the final secession took place only much later (about A.D. 50).³⁷³

B. THE "FRATERNITAS"

Common experiences, attitudes, and ideals tend to draw people together. At first a "parallelism of religious spontaneity" may suffice, but this is usually the first step to a closer association of those united in their protest against the status quo and in their common desire to renew and intensify the central religious experience.³⁷⁴ Practical considerations also will play their part in the establishment of groups in which life is lived communally. Faris has discussed the principal motives which impel one to join a religious group. Like-mindedness, though important, is not the only factor. "To join a group", says Faris, "it is not necessary that you regard yourself as like them; it might be more accurate to say that you have an ambition to be like them and therefore want to change."³⁷⁵ Just as there is a variety of con-

³⁷¹ New cultic practices (organized singing of the divine names, etc.) were introduced by the Hindu reformer Sri Chaitanya (fifteenth century) in his reform of Hinduism (R. Govinda Nath, "A Survey of the Sri Chaitanya Movement", *CHI*, II, 131 ff.).

³⁷² Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, pp. 133 ff.; Sachse, *German Sectarians*, I, 294 ff.; Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), chap. vi.

³⁷³ Heinrich Jacobi, "Über die Entstehung der Svetambara und Digambara Sekten", *ZDMG*, XXXVIII, 1 ff., 40, 92 ff.; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, chap. vi; Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 72 ff. (on pp. 79-80 the main differences of the two groups are given).

³⁷⁴ Cf. the excellent characterization of spiritualistic group-building in Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, pp. 866 ff.

³⁷⁵ Faris, "The Sect", in *The Nature of Human Nature*, p. 5. Cf. below, sec. 12.

ceptions of life under these standards, so there is a variety of types of associations, some of which withdraw almost completely from the world (contenance, poverty) or are otherwise well unified and organized. One type is represented in the Christian Gnostic communities, designed to unite those striving after deeper knowledge; others by the "friends of God",³⁷⁶ by the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life (Beguiins and Beghards) of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in western Europe,³⁷⁷ by the followers of the *devotio moderna*³⁷⁸ in all its varieties,³⁷⁹ as well as by the Pietistic, "Precisianist", and Methodist groups in German, Dutch, and Anglo-Saxon Protestantism,³⁸⁰ by the Russian Dissenters (Shore-dwellers, Vygovsk brotherhood),³⁸¹ by loosely organized Mohammedan brotherhoods,³⁸² and, finally, by similar associations in Buddhism and Taoism.³⁸³ Inasmuch as these groups are avowedly integrated more by the spirit³⁸⁴ than by strict organization, they frequently assume a "liberal" and critical attitude towards one doctrine, cult, and practice of the main groups, manifesting either indifference or a tendency to adhere to peculiar, if not heretical, views. Thus it does not surprise us to see not a few of these groups engaged in latent or manifest conflict with the official body and its authorities. Within brotherhoods of this kind a minimum of organization usually goes hand in hand with a correspondingly equalitarian conception of

³⁷⁶ Rufus M. Jones, *The Flowering of Mysticism*, chap. iii; esp. Tauler's advice to the "friends" (pp. 99 ff.); on missions (pp. 114 ff.).

³⁷⁷ Cf. above, n. 338.

³⁷⁸ Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance and Christianity, Capitalism, Communism: A Historical Analysis* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: G. Wahr, 1937). On the *familia caritatis*, the Labadie group, and similar circles see Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, pp. 901 ff., 894 ff. On the Rynsbürger see "Rynsbürger" (art.), in *ERE*, X, 877 ff.; cf. below, nn. 386 ff.

³⁷⁹ Cf. Evelyn Underhill, "Medieval Mysticism", in *CMedH*, Vol. VII, chap. xxxvi, esp. pp. 788 ff., who summarizes as characteristic features of these groups the "substitution of religious experience for religious authority" and the "return to the apostolic life of poverty".

³⁸⁰ For the economic structure of a "twice-reformed" group (the Moravian) cf. Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, chap. iii. Cf. there on the "choir" concept (chap. iv).

³⁸¹ Cf. Frederick C. Conybeare, *Russian Dissenters (HThSt, Vol. X (1921))*, Part I; Clarence A. Manning, "Russian Nationalism and the Old Believers", *RR*, II (1937), 284 ff.; Miliukov, *Russian Culture*, chap. v.

³⁸² On the Brotherhood of Basra (*Ikhwan as-safa*) cf. De Boer, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff.; Fredrich Dieterici, *Die Philosophie der Araber im 10. Jahrhundert* (1861 ff.), and *EL*, II, 459-60.

³⁸³ On the Wu-Wei-Kiao, a Chinese Buddhist reform group (in spite of the Taoist-sounding name), cf. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, chap. xxiii. The Tsun-Lin movement in Chinese monasticism works by establishing small monastic groups of those striving after an intensification and deepening of the religious life (cf. Pratt, *Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, p. 330).

³⁸⁴ Cf. the characteristic concept of "illumination" in Christian (Hesychasts, "Friends") and Mohammedan circles of mystics and seekers.

fellowship; however, with the beginnings of stratification and specialization of functions, the *fraternitas* usually advances to a succeeding stage.³⁸⁵

A good example of the *fraternitas* and its development from a *collegium pietatis* is offered in the groups of the Brethren of the Common Life.³⁸⁶ Their founder, Gerhard Groote (1340-84), an admirer of the great mystic Jan Ruysbroeck, differed radically from his master in character, being less retiring and more given to active leadership.³⁸⁷ His protest against the decadence of the Church was expressive of his desire for its reformation, for a rebirth of Christianity, for a more genuine imitation of Christ, but implied no thought of secession.³⁸⁸ He first encouraged a few women to associate in common life at his house; later he gathered twelve disciples at Deventer, thus forming a closely knit group.³⁸⁹ Still unsatisfied, he and his immediate followers (Florentius Radewijns and Gerard Zervolt) founded the "Congregation of Windesheim",³⁹⁰ which was legitimized through association with the officially recognized Augustinian regulars. Windesheim, but little different from Deventer, is distinguished by a differentiation of structure (superiors, etc.)³⁹¹ which marks the development from a *collegium* to a *fraternitas*. Different sociological types of organization are represented by some of the later movements and institutions which were influenced by the "brethren". Protestant and Catholic reformers alike (e.g., Luther, Calvin, the English Reformers, and Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order) were acquainted with their ideas and way of life.³⁹² The Brethren themselves did not desire to develop into an order or sect.³⁹³

³⁸⁵ Cf. the well-organized "Holy brotherhood" of the Moravians (Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, chap. iv).

³⁸⁶ Cf. the excellent exposition of the religious and cultural significance and the history of this movement in Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance*.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. i, esp. pp. 12, 14, 24 ff., 28 ff.

³⁸⁸ "A reformer, not a revolutionist" (*ibid.*, p. 27); opposition to "heretics" (p. 30).

³⁸⁹ Hyma (*ibid.*, pp. 47-48) enumerates three types of followers of Groote. On the constitution for the women, p. 43; Groote's advice for the brethren, p. 46.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 46 ff., 82 ff., and chap. iv; on Radewijns, *ibid.*, chap. ii, p. 3; on Zervolt, *ibid.*, chap. ii, p. 5 (the latter's "spiritual ascensions" influenced Loyola (*ibid.*, chap. vii, p. 3)); on Augustinian affiliation, *ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

³⁹¹ Constitution and life in this "model convent" in *ibid.*, pp. 152 ff.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, chaps. vii and viii.

³⁹³ The difference between *fraternitas* and *sect* is not one of structure (cf. the analogous group of twelve "apostles" in the Khlysty, twelve "archangels" in the Dukhobor sectarian communities in Russia, etc.) (Miliukov, *Russian Culture*, pp. 91 ff.) but one of spirit and discipline (secession). Cf. below, sec. 12.

C. MONASTICISM: THE ORDER

A third type of reaction to ecclesiastical development tends towards a stricter and more rigid conception of the new community within the main body. Colonies of Christian anchorites³⁹⁴ as they developed in Egypt in the third century illustrate the transition from the individual recluse³⁹⁵ to the communal institution of monastic life. The introduction of monasticism into Christianity is connected with the name of Pachomius.³⁹⁶ The monastic group can be defined as a founded and organized congregation of those who, because of their protest,³⁹⁷ decided to live a common life of religious devotion in closer association than appears otherwise possible or desirable in a *fraternitas*. The ideal is conceived of in terms of the original central religious experience. It is exclusive in its demands, insisting upon individual, permanent loyalty.³⁹⁸ Absolute obedience, fixed residence, peculiar garb, meals in common, special devotions, and common labour bind the members of the convent and the order together. They are also united in a negative sense by their common renunciation of secular relationships and possessions. The idea of spiritual brotherhood completely supersedes natural organization. General and local regulations determine status in the monastic orders (leave, dismissal).³⁹⁹ Particularly stressed are chastity, special prayers, ascetic practices, and harmony of activity. In other matters emphasis varies from order to order. It may be placed on manual labour, study, missionary, educational, or charitable work.

³⁹⁴ Herbert Brook Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal from the Earliest Times down to the Coming of the Friars* (2nd ed., 1927); Adolf von Harnack, *Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte* (3rd ed., 1886), trans. as: *Monasticism, Its Ideals and History*, by E. E. Kellett and F. H. Marseille (London: Williams & Norgate, 1901); A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 137 ff.; Tellenbach, *Church, State, Christian Society*, chap. ii; A. H. Thompson, "The Monastic Orders", *CMH*, Vol. V, chap. xx (hermits and coenobites); Bernhard Brinkmann, *Der Ordensgedanke und die katholischen Klöster in Deutschland* (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1936), esp. pp. 15 ff.

³⁹⁵ On the "individualism" and lay character of the earliest monks see Workman, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff., 124 ff.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88. Three stages are discriminated: "monachism", "cenobitism" and "monasticism".

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 6 ff., 12 ff. Emphasis is placed on the reluctance of monasticism to reform the whole of society or ecclesiastical organization (p. 12). The origin: "Against all this growing sacerdotalism (Cyprian) the monk by his very existence was a 'silent, unconscious, but none the less potent protest'" (p. 14).

³⁹⁸ On the main vows see *ibid.*, pp. 37 ff.

³⁹⁹ For the legal status of the monastic orders in the Roman church cf. *Codex juris canonici*, Book II, Part II: "De religiosis". For the "rules" of the different orders see below, nn. 412 ff.

Monasticism is known in the Christian West⁴⁰⁰ and East,⁴⁰¹ in Mohammedanism, Manichaeism,⁴⁰² Buddhism,⁴⁰³ Jainism,⁴⁰⁴ and Taoism.⁴⁰⁵ Massignon describes the formation of Moslem groups of those leading a "common life", regulated by a series of special rules superimposed on the ordinary Islamic observances.⁴⁰⁶ (The term *tarika* ("order") originally meant systematic, mystical training of the novice.) Vigils, fasts, invocations, litanies, and special dispensations all characterize Mohammedan monastic life.⁴⁰⁷ In Buddhism, Jainism, and Manichaeism the earliest community, that is, the circle, is somewhat monastic in organization; continued protests led in the first two to the development of monastic orders. The reformation of the Tibetan Luther, Tsong-khapa (1358-1419), called the second Buddha, was based on a protest against the pagan elements which had crept into Tibetan Buddhism, established by Padmasambhava in the country of the former Bon religion. It was also directed against the conduct of the clergy and against the extravagances of Tantrism, introduced from Bengal (India).⁴⁰⁸ So it became reformed monasticism, analogous to the Cluny and Cistercian reforms in the

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. "Religious Orders" (art.), in *ESS*, XIII, 276 ff.; A. H. Thompson, "The Monastic Orders", in *CMedH*, Vol. V, chap. xx.

⁴⁰¹ On the introduction of monasticism into the Greek church (Basil) see Workman, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff.; Karl Holl, "Über das griechische Mönchtum", in *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 270 ff.; Ferdinand Laun, "Die beiden Regeln des Basiliius", *ZfK*, XL (1935), 1 ff. On Russian monasticism see Nikolai Brian-Chaninov, *The Russian Church*, trans. Warre B. Wells (London, 1931), chap. v; F. Smolitsch, "Studien zum Klosterwesen Russlands. I: Der Werdegang des russischen Starzentums", in *Kyrios: Vierteljahrsschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* (Berlin: Osteuropa Verlag, 1937), II, 95 ff.; Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche*, pp. 365 ff. (extensive bibliography).

⁴⁰² On the *electi* and their asceticism cf. H. S. Polotsky, "Manichaeismus" (art.), in *PWRE*, Suppl., VI, 262 ff.

⁴⁰³ On southern Buddhist monasticism cf. Robert Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monasticism* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1860). On the Siamese orders see Pratt, *Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, pp. 158 ff. Interesting details are given on admission and hierarchy (*ibid.*, p. 523) on Zen monasticism in Japan. On Tibetan monasticism see Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, esp. chap. xiii. On the great saint Mila see *ibid.*, chap. viii. On Chinese Buddhist monasticism see Karl Ludwig Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism: A Study in Chinese Mahayana Buddhism*, trans. K. von Wagenen (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1927), chap. viii.

⁴⁰⁴ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, chap. xi.

⁴⁰⁵ On the Taoist *Tao-shi* and their life, cf. Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 114; de Groot, "The Origin of the Taoist Church", pp. 138 ff.

⁴⁰⁶ Massignon ("Tarika" (art.), in *EL*, IV, pp. 665 ff.) gives a list of the principal *tarikas* (pp. 669 ff.). On the Central Asiatic Islamic monasticism cf. *ERE*, VIII, 888; on African, R. Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie des Aïssaoua au Maroc* (Paris, 1926); on the Turkish, Georg Jacob, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschi", in *Türkische Bibliothek*, No. IX (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1908); cf. also n. 422 below, and "Derwisch" (art.), in *EL*, I, 949 ff.

⁴⁰⁷ On analogies and differences of Mohammedan and Christian monasticism cf. G. Bonet-Maury, *Les Confréries religieuses dans l'Islamisme* (*TICHR* (1908)), pp. 339 ff.

⁴⁰⁸ See Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, chap. viii. Cf. there (pp. 161 ff.) on Ge-dun Trup-pa (fifteenth century), the next great saint and founder of Tashi Lhunpo monastery.

West. Though the "yellow" community separated itself from the "red", no actual schism took place.

Monasticism abounds in outstanding personalities who influenced its development as well as religion in general. Some of its leaders became reformers of existing orders and drew up new regulations of a stricter type, and frequently they became the founders of new orders. Subsequently the constitution of the new (reformed) monastic community would be submitted to the authorities for confirmation, as in the case of the Roman Catholic church, and would then be adopted by a number of monasteries. There are both clerics and laity among the founders of orders.

The monastic movement is a highly dynamic process with heights and depths, declines and revivals. Orders have played a particularly important role in the growth of the Roman Catholic church. Typically we find in Roman Catholicism the clearest delineation of the organization and purpose of monastic communities.⁴⁰⁹ An "order" is characterized by public solemn vows, a "congregation" by public and simple vows, a "society" by the absence of public vows.⁴¹⁰ Tertiaries are men and women affiliated with some order but not generally practising communal life.⁴¹¹

Three main phases are discernible in the history of the Western orders, each phase witnessing the creation of a new type of order. First came the Benedictine order (sixth century)⁴¹² and the Augustinians (eleventh century), then the mendicants⁴¹³ (Franciscans,⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁹ *Codex juris canonici*, Canons 492 ff., 702 ff.; M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche* (3rd ed.; 1933); Clement Raymond Orth, "The Approbation of Religious Institutes", in *Studies in Canon Law*, No. LXXI (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1931).

⁴¹⁰ Alfred Bertholet, "Religious Orders" (art.), in *ESS*, XIII, 279.

⁴¹¹ According to canon law, three kinds of associations ("Tertiaries", "confraternities", "pious unions") are to be distinguished (*Codex juris canonici*, Canon 700).

⁴¹² Workman, *Monastic Ideal*, chap. iii; Stephanus Hilpisch, *Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder & Co., 1929); David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council* (Cambridge University Press, 1940); Paul Delatte, *The Rule of St. Benedict: A Commentary*, trans. Justin McCann (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 1921).

⁴¹³ Rules: Paschal Robinson, *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi* (Philadelphia: Dolphin Press, 1906), pp. 25 ff.; Workman, *op. cit.*, chap. v: "The Development of Monasticism from St. Benedict to St. Francis"; John T. McNeill, "Asceticism versus Militarism in the Middle Ages", in *PASGH*, V (1936), 3 ff.; Ray C. Petry, *Francis of Assisi: Apostle of Poverty* (Cambridge University Press, 1941) (ample bibliography).

⁴¹⁴ A. G. Little, "The Mendicant Orders", *GMedH*, VI, 722 ff., on expansion and organization of the Franciscans; Vida Dutton Scudder, *The Franciscan Adventure* (Dent); Edward Hutton, *The Franciscans in England, 1224-1538* (Constable, 1926).

Dominicans,⁴¹⁵ Carmelites⁴¹⁶) in the thirteenth century;⁴¹⁷ finally, the Jesuits,⁴¹⁸ Theatines, etc., in the sixteenth century. The Franciscan movement, which illustrates the transition from the order to the sect, is of special interest, as we shall see later. Only recently has the importance of the movement of the Franciscan spirituals been realized. Whereas the order of St. Francis organized itself within the church and its hierarchy, the more radical groups mark the transition to heresy and schism.⁴¹⁹ Since the seventeenth century not many new orders have been founded, but a number of ecclesiastical congregations have been organized, of which the Trappists in the seventeenth and the Mechitarists and the Redemptorists in the eighteenth centuries might be mentioned. In the Middle Ages semi-monastic organizations were founded, of which the orders of knights were especially significant.⁴²⁰ They all were organized along religious and military ideals and integrated into the Catholic church. A different type of monasticism altogether is represented in the Eastern Orthodox church (Basilians, etc.).⁴²¹

In Islam the order of the Bektashi⁴²² exercised considerable

⁴¹⁵ Ernest Barker, *The Dominican Order and Convocation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913); Georgina Rosalie Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216-1360* (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925).

⁴¹⁶ The history of the Carmelites illustrates the transition from the anchorite to the cenobite type of monasticism (Simon Stock) and the split into a milder and a stricter branch.

⁴¹⁷ Little, *op. cit.*; James Westfall Thompson, *Economic History*, chap. xxiv.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Paul van Dyke, *Ignatius Loyola: The Founder of the Jesuits* (New York and London: Scribner, 1926), esp. chap. ix: "The Formation of the Company of Jesus"; Thomas Joseph Campbell, S.J., *The Jesuits, 1534-1921: A History of the Society of Jesus from Its Foundation to the Present Time* (Harding, 1921); Martin Patrick Harney, S.J., *The Jesuits in History: The Society of Jesus through the Centuries* (New York: American Press, 1941); Gilbert Joseph Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York: American Press, 1938).

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Herbert Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Floris* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927), Johannes Ch. Huck, *Joachim von Floris und die joachimitische Literatur* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder & Co., 1938), and Ernst Benz, *Ecclesia Spirituality: Kirchenidee und Geschichtsphilosophie der franziskanischen Reform* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934) and his "Die Geschichtstheologie der Franziskaner Spiritualen", *ZfK*, LII (1933), 90 ff.; Petri, *Francis of Assisi*, chap. v. Cf. also Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 237 ff.; A. S. Turberville, "Heresies and the Inquisition in the Middle Ages", in *CMedH*, VI, esp. 709 ff.; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte*, IV, 10.

⁴²⁰ Hans Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden* (Berlin: E. S. Mittler, 1908); Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, Vol. I, chap. xxiii; Alexander Bruce Boswell, "The Teutonic Order", *CMedH*, Vol. VII, chap. ix.

⁴²¹ Adeney, *Eastern Churches*, pp. 273 ff., 147; Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church*. On the Athos monasteries cf. Franz Spunda, *Der heilige Berg Athos: Landschaft und Legende* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1928).

⁴²² Theophil Menzel, "Die ältesten türkischen Mystiker", *ZDMG*, LXXII (1925), 285 ff.; Richard Tschudi, "Bektash" (art.), in *EL*, I, 691-92. Cf. there on the teachings and history of the order and bibliography. Cf. also "The Bektashi Dervishes", *Moslem World*, XXXII (1942), 7 ff.

influence, especially in the sixteenth century in Western Turkey, where in some sections it was more a sect than an order. Celibacy was retained in one section of the Bektashi, who were led by a grand master residing at the mother-monastery.⁴²³ As chaplains to the Janissaries⁴²⁴ the Bektashi became extremely influential. Their power, however, was greatly curtailed after the suppression of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmud II. Other orders have been widely established in the countries of the Crescent.⁴²⁵ Only in Turkey have they been suppressed—by the new republic (1925).

12. SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF RADICAL PROTEST: SECESSION

The protest against conditions in the ecclesiastical body usually begins from within as a reform movement, not necessarily with the intention of causing a schism, which on the contrary is, as we saw, more often than not anxiously avoided. The inner logic, vitality, or radicalism of the new movement or the intransigent attitude of the mother-community or its representatives, however, may prove more powerful than the good will of the dissenters, and a secession results. The reformer becomes a separatist and the reform group an independent body or sect.⁴²⁶ That does not, however, mean that there are not movements which from the outset are consciously revolutionary and secessionary and aim at snapping completely asunder the bonds holding them to the tradition of historic continuity.⁴²⁷ In the latter case a radical attempt to revert to the original experience of the founding circle becomes the theme of the new venture and is often accompanied by an insistence upon the strictest conformity with the letter of the original message, frequently with emphasis on certain elements at the expense of the rest.

⁴²³ The grand master was called the *tshelebi*, the head of the celibate dervishes the *müdferred cabasy* (Tschudi, *op. cit.*, p. 692).

⁴²⁴ Cf. Cl. Huart, "Janissaries" (art.), in *EL*, II, 572 ff.

⁴²⁵ On the Mohammedan orders in India cf. the good surveys in Titus, *Indian Islam*, chap. vi: "Religious Orders". The most frequently spoken of are the Chishti, Suhrawardi, Qadiri, Shattari, and Nakshbandi orders (pp. 112 ff.). Cf. also *ERE*, XI, 68 ff., on the main founder-saints of Indian Moslem orders. For the African cf. above, n. 406.

On the suppression of the Turkish *tekkés* by Kemal Atatürk cf. Henry Elisha Allen, *The Turkish Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), chap. x: "The Place of Islam in the New Turkey".

⁴²⁶ Cf. below, n. 493.

⁴²⁷ Cf. "Christian Sect" (art.), in *ERE*, XI, 315 ff.; L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, chap. vi (the first heresies); and the bibliography below, n. 493.

Sometimes a *secessionary* protest takes the form of objection not to the form of expression (doctrine, cult, organization) but to the general attitude and policy of the religious community to particular social or political institutions which are regarded as manifesting a spirit incompatible with, even hostile to, the professed religious ideals. The radical "perfectionist" objects to compromises with religious and ethical standards on the part of the ecclesiastical bodies. Novatian's movement in the third century is characteristic.⁴²⁸ Most perfectionist sects have always stressed this point in their historic or systematic justification of their secession. Some sects, like the "New Manichaeans" of the later Middle Ages or the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, represent an emphasis on spiritual perfection, while the Methodist and the Holiness movements are especially concerned with ethical perfection.⁴²⁹ The Quaker ideal harmonizes both components.

Protests against the social conditions prompted, in the Zoroastrian community, the Mazdak movement in Iran⁴³⁰ and, in Islam, that of the Karmatians, a great movement for social justice and equality which swept the Moslem world from the ninth to the twelfth centuries.⁴³¹

Usually secession originates as a protest against conditions in one of the *three fields* of religious expression.⁴³² The separatist protest might be stimulated by an over-rigid and static or by too broad and ambiguous an interpretation of the faith. The issue of the correct (orthodox) interpretation of the source of revelation (sacred writings) is raised.⁴³³ In Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism individuals and groups objected violently to the establishment of semi-canonical tradition and to its utilization in the scriptural exegesis. One group objected to the traditional exegesis because it was unduly minute and meticulous and the other because it was not sufficiently elaborate.⁴³⁴ Such

⁴²⁸ On Novatian see Duchesne, *op. cit.*, pp. 295 ff.

⁴²⁹ Cf. E. T. Clark, *The Small Sects*, chap. ii.

⁴³⁰ On Mazdak cf. Christensen, *L'Iran*, chap. vii.

⁴³¹ Cf. Massignon in the excellent article, "Karmatians", in *EI*, II, 767 ff.

⁴³² Cf. the analysis of the "causes of division" in American denominationalism in H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States* (ACHS, Vol. I), pp. xxiv ff.

⁴³³ J. Wach, "Zur Hermeneutik heiliger Schriften", in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1930); *Das Verstehen: Geschichte der hermeneutischen Theorie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1926 ff.), esp. Vol. II; "Verstehen" (art.), in *RGK*, V, 1570. Cf. R. Friedmann, "Conception of the Anabaptists", *ChH*, IX (1940), 359 ff., on their principles of interpretation.

⁴³⁴ As examples of the latter type of exegesis: Joachim of Flora (on his exegesis: Grundmann, *Joachim von Floris*, chap. i); in modern times: the formation of the Adventist groups (on their exegesis: Clark, *The Small Sects*, chap. ii), the churches of the "New Jerusalem" (Swedenborgian) and of Christian Science. Cf. also below, n. 446; on "Puritan" exegesis: Knappen, *Puritanism*, chaps. xviii-xix.

objections often go hand in hand with criticism of other doctrinal, cultic, and organizational conditions.

(a) *Doctrine*.—The Karaites in Judaism (eighth century A.D.),⁴³⁵ with the keynote "back to the scriptures", rejected all traditional interpretation (Talmud), while the Cabbalists sought to ferret out deeper hidden meanings. Similarly, the Batinites in Islam sought for a spiritual meaning in their *tawil* (exegesis), while the Wahhabites⁴³⁶ rejected all traditional interpretation. As might be expected, the definition of particular *doctrines* frequently aroused violent opposition in Christianity. The definitions of the doctrines of the Trinity,⁴³⁷ the incarnation,⁴³⁸ the resurrection, of grace, and, finally, of eschatology⁴³⁹ have always been most prone to foment discussion within the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed churches as well as in non-ecclesiastical Christian groups. The teachings on grace, which incidentally have their parallel outside Christianity, have constantly stirred up vigorous controversies (Pelagian, Arminian),⁴⁴⁰ without, however, leading necessarily to secession. They also were the topic of the synergistic disputes in the early Lutheran church. Conflicting attitudes in the teachings on grace in modern Protestantism are reflected in the divisions of the Baptist church into Regular (Calvinist)

⁴³⁵ "Karaites" (art.), in *ERE*, VII, 672. Cf. Baron, *Social History of the Jews*, Vol. I, chap. vii; III, 85 ff.; and D. Sidersky, "Le Caranisme et ses doctrines", *RHR*, CXIV (1936), 197 ff.

⁴³⁶ David Samuel Margoliouth, "Wahhabiya" (art.), in *EI*, IV, 1086 ff.

⁴³⁷ A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 295 ff.: "The Doctrine of the Trinity, Its Place in History and Its Relation to Human Progress"; A. H. Newman, *Antitrinitarian Antipædo-baptist* (*PACH* (1917)), pp. 75 ff.; Joseph Henry Allen, *Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement* (*ACHS*, Vol. X (1894)); Foster, *A Genetic History of the New England Theology*, chap. x; Whiting, *English Puritanism*, pp. 258 ff.; Olive M. Griffith, *Religion and Learning: A Study in English Presbyterian Thought from the Bartholomew Ejection (1662) to the Foundation of the Unitarian Movement* (Cambridge University Press, 1935), chap. iv; William Wallace Fenn, "How the Schism Came", *Proceedings of the Unitarian Historical Society*, I, 1925, 3 ff.; *Unitarians Face a New Age: The Report of the Commission of Appraisal to the American Unitarian Association* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1936).

⁴³⁸ Thus in the earliest Christian community the Jewish Christians became divided on theological issues (nature of Jesus as the Messiah) as well as on cultic issues (sacrifice abandoned, circumcision and prayer toward Jerusalem maintained) (*ERE*, XI, 315). Important for the study of early Christology: Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen bis Irenäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhöck & Ruprecht, 1913). On Arianism: *CMedH*, Vol. I, chap. v. On modern Christologies: A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 382 ff.; Ernst Günther, *Die Entwicklung der Lehre von der Person Christi im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1911).

⁴³⁹ Cf. Folke Holmström, *Das eschatologische Denken der Gegenwart*, trans. Harold Kruska (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1936).

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, chap. xiii, on the repercussions in Puritan theology.

and General or Freewill (Arminian) ⁴⁴¹ and in the split among the Presbyterians and among the Methodists.

Mohammedan theologians have disagreed upon the concept of *qadar* (destiny), thus bringing about the early controversy between the Qadarites and the Djabrites.⁴⁴² Other doctrinal issues have wrought a number of secessions in Islam. Hinduism, although not a founded religion, offers interesting parallels, such as differences of opinion over the nature of the deity and grace in Vishnuism after Ramanuja (twelfth century). The split into Vadalalai and Tenkalai was due to a difference in preference for sacred texts (written in Sanskrit or Tamil) and in the concepts of *karma* (works) and *bhakti* (love). The Vadakalai believed that man's own efforts help to achieve salvation, while the other group denied the efficacy of man's strivings in attaining salvation.⁴⁴³

All monotheistic religions have been afflicted by separations caused by variant views on eschatology. Expectations of special agents (Messiah, Mahdi) are elaborated in Jewish and Mohammedan groups,⁴⁴⁴ and Christian Chiliasm and speculation on the "advent" have played a considerable role in Christian sectarianism.⁴⁴⁵ Modern versions of traditional Christian eschatology either liberalize it, as is done by the Universalists, or supplement it, as is done by the Adventists. The various splits among the latter into Millerites, Seventh-Day Adventists, and Russellites were caused, interestingly enough, by differences in chronological calculations.⁴⁴⁶ Other sources for schisms have been the doctrine of God, his nature, attributes, and relation to the world among the

⁴⁴¹ A. H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (ACHS, Vol. II, (1894)), pp. 38 ff. Cf. also the three types of emphasis in the development of the main Protestant bodies according to Thompson, *A History of Presbyterian Churches in the United States* (ACHS, Vol. VI (1895)), pp. 315-16. On the controversy between Wesley and Whitfield concerning grace cf. Piette, *Wesley*, pp. 360 ff.

⁴⁴² Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, chap. iii.

⁴⁴³ Rangacharya, in *CHI*, II, 66 ff., esp. 92 ff. On the later history of the two schools and their *acharyas* (masters) cf. above chap. v, sec. 4, and R. Otto, *Vishnu-Narayana*, pp. 122 ff., on the eighteen differences in doctrine between them.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. J. Wach, "Erlöser" (art.), in *RGK*, II, 261 f.; "Messias" (art.), in *ibid.*, III, 2142; Emil Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1928); David Samuel Margoliouth, "On Mahdis and Mahdism", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1915-16 (London, 1919).

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. n. 419 and H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States* (ACHS, Vol. I (New York, 1893)), pp. 4-5. For the eschatology of the latter groups and millenarianism and its history see E. T. Clark, *The Small Sects*, pp. 30 ff.; Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, pp. 794 ff., 825-26; Whiting, *English Puritanism*, chap. vi. On Chiliasm cf. Alfred Doren, "Wunschräume und Wunschzeiten", *Bibliothek Warburg* (1927), 158 ff.

⁴⁴⁶ E. T. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff. Cf. M. S. Czatt, *The International Bible Students* (*Jehovah's Witnesses*) ("Yale Studies in Religious Education", Vol. IV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933)). On Irvingite eschatology cf. below, n. 490.

Christians; prophetology⁴⁴⁷ and the theory of the caliphate⁴⁴⁸ in Mohammedanism; and conceptions of the nature of Buddha⁴⁴⁹ and the *dharma*⁴⁵⁰ in Buddhism. A number of different conceptions of leadership developed in Islam as a result of protests against the institution of the Sunni caliphate; protests by the Shiites, who insisted that the imamate belongs to the Alids, protests by the Zaydites in South Arabian Yemen, who insisted on the substitution of election for hereditary succession in the house of Fatima, and protests by the Khawarij, who insisted on the potential right of any Moslem to attain the position of leadership.⁴⁵¹

(b) *Cult.*—Secessionary protests might be directed against cultic and devotional practices, particularly against standardization of the practical expression of the religious experience. Thus Marcion, according to Harnack,⁴⁵² rejected not only the doctrine but also "the steadily growing ritual of the great church". Irenaeus describes Gnostic groups who practised special types of Baptism and unction and other rites, particularly a sacrament called *apolytroxis*.⁴⁵³ The protest of the Paulicians in the seventh century advocated the elimination of the Old Testament, Anti-trinitarianism, retaining only three sacraments, and abolishing hierarchy.⁴⁵⁴ The Paulicians had one order (the elect); mariolatry, veneration of saints and images, and elaborate ritual were all rejected as "idolatrous practices" by these "protestants before Protestantism". The Albigenses, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, modified the church's conception of God, rejected the Old Testament, the sacrament of marriage, and the Roman priesthood, justifying their secession on doctrinal, cultic, and organizational grounds.⁴⁵⁵ They had their own dualistic doctrine, a characteristic sacrament, the "consolamentum", peculiar rules of abstinence and a class of "perfecti".⁴⁵⁶ The Bogomils opposed

⁴⁴⁷ Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, chap. iii; Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, esp. chap. iii.

⁴⁴⁸ Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), pp. 184 ff.; D. W. Donaldson, *The Shiite Religion*, chaps. i ff., xxix.

⁴⁴⁹ Particularly instructive is De la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, chap. iii, contrasting the Buddhology of the Sthavira and of the "Supranaturalists".

⁴⁵⁰ Theodor Shcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma"* ("Price Publication Fund", Vol. VII (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1923)).

⁴⁵¹ Cf. above, n. 448.

⁴⁵² Harnack, *Constitution*, pp. 149 ff., 183.

⁴⁵³ Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, pp. 178 ff.

⁴⁵⁴ Adeney, *Eastern Churches*, chap. v, esp. p. 219.

⁴⁵⁵ Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. V; Turberville, "Heresies", *CMedH*, Vol. VII, chap. xx.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. "Albigenses" (art.), in *ERE*, I, 277 ff.

the Mass and substituted prayers for it, combining a Gnostic theology with the purely symbolic view of the Eucharist. The Cathari of the twelfth century replaced the sacraments of the church by their own sacrament, the "consolamentum".⁴⁵⁷ During the Reformation the traditional forms of worship, especially the Mass,⁴⁵⁸ were rejected by the leaders of the more radical Reform groups.

Evelyn Underhill agrees with Troeltsch in positing a twofold worship in earliest Christianity—one increasingly liturgical (Lord's Prayer) and the other consisting of spiritual exercises.⁴⁵⁹ It is the restoration or the accentuation of the latter which provides the basis for so many group rebellions within and without the church. The number of sacraments was drastically reduced by the great Reformation; the cult of the Virgin and the saints, particularly the veneration of relics, was opposed; and festivals, pilgrimages, and other forms of devotion were abandoned. This was the attitude of the Protestant leaders on the Continent in the struggle against the Roman Catholic church⁴⁶⁰ and also of the independent groups in their opposition to all established cults.⁴⁶¹ The Anabaptist protest is directed against sacramentalism and sacerdotalism.⁴⁶² In the words of one writer, "from 1525 onwards there was going on a rapid multiplication of little local religious groups, brotherhoods, congregations or communities which all alike claimed to possess the true word of God and all alike denounced Lutherans and Zwinglians no less than Papists".⁴⁶³ The Quaker and many of the smaller groups of the seventeenth century insisted firmly on the "purity of worship", and we find

⁴⁵⁷ Adeney, *op. cit.*, pp. 225 ff. For the Judaizing *passagii* (twelfth century) cf. Louis Israel Newman, *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* ("Columbia University Oriental Studies", Vol. XVIII (Oxford University Press, 1925)), pp. 240 ff.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. the comprehensive studies of Ernest Charles Messenger, *The Reformation, the Mass and the Priesthood: A Documented History* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936), esp. chap. i (Catholic).

⁴⁵⁹ Underhill, *Worship*, p. 88.

⁴⁶⁰ Barclay (*Inner Life*, pp. 413 ff.) distinguishes three types of "Seekers": (1) those who are against all ordinances; (2) those who are against the present practice; and (3) those who are above or beyond all ordinances.

⁴⁶¹ The use of the term "Puritan" is instructive. It has been applied not only to the reform groups within the Church of England but to Independents of the Congregational type or members of new bodies like the Baptists (cf. Barker, *Church, State, Study*, pp. 109-10, and Knappen, *Puritanism*, p. 487; cf. above, nn. 252 ff.).

⁴⁶² English Anabaptists: Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research* (Cambridge University Press, 1912), chaps. i, x, and xi; Robert Friedmann, "Conception of the Anabaptists", *ChH*, VI (1940), 341 ff., and Horsch, *Mennonite History*, Vol. I, on the Continental groups, esp. chap. xxxvi on "Believers' Baptism". Cf. below, n. 481.

⁴⁶³ J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, chap. iii. On the history of the Baptist movement see Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 797 ff.; A. H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches*, Introd.; Whiting, *op. cit.*, chap. iii.

the same insistence in modern sectarianism.⁴⁶⁴ A dispute over cultic observances high-lighted the "Protestant" secession in Russia.⁴⁶⁵ The schism of the Raskol (Old Believers) took place as a protest against alleged cultic innovations of the state church, and the "spiritual sects", like the Khlysty, Dukhobors, and Molokans,⁴⁶⁶ withdrew because they rejected the sacramental and hierarchical organization of the church.⁴⁶⁷

Outside Christianity we find the secession of the Kharijite movement also motivated by a protest against cultic practices. The historical antecedents of the first schism in Mohammedanism are somewhat obscure, but it was inspired by the rigorism, precisianism, and claim to exclusive legitimacy on the part of those who objected to Uthman, the third *khalifa*, for his recension of the Koran and to Ali for his compromises ("none but God is judge"). The political motive underlying the Kharijite movement explains why only one of the numerous subdivisions was able to survive (Ibadis).⁴⁶⁸ The Murji'ite, Wahhabite, and later Berber dissensions were also, at least partly, due to cultic differences. The sects both of Salih ibn Tarif (A.D. 750) and of Hamin, a prophet of the Ghummarats (A.D. 925) in North Africa, originated from protests against cultic forms such as number of prayers, choice of fasting months, kind of alms and taxes, and language of prayer and the holy writ.⁴⁶⁹ Mohammedan rigorists in India, on the other hand, partly influenced by Wahhabite ideology, protested strongly against Hindu practices (fertility rites, seasonal festivals) observed by many Indian Moslems. There are four sects in Chinese Islam⁴⁷⁰ corresponding to the four *khalifas* who are

⁴⁶⁴ On the "Churches of God" and the schism in the Disciples of Christ see Clark, *Small Sects in America*, pp. 262 ff.

⁴⁶⁵ Ferdinand Kattenbusch, *Lehrbuch der Konfessionskunde*, Vol. I (1892); Karl Konrad Grass, *Die russischen Sekten* (Leipzig, 1907 ff.); Conybeare, *Russian Dissenters*; Walter Frederic Adeney, *Eastern Churches*, pp. 441 ff.; Julia M. Danzas, *The Russian Church*, trans. O. Bennigsen (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1936); Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture*, chaps. iii ff.

⁴⁶⁶ The study of Russian sectarianism forms the nucleus of Miliukov's recently (1942) translated work. Cf. Pauline Vislick Young, "The Molokan Community in Los Angeles", *AJS*, XXXV (1929), 393 ff., published separately as *The Pilgrims of Russian Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), pp. 61 ff., 45 ff. Cf. also above, n. 361, on Radayev's followers and n. 277 on the Dukhobors ("Freedom, no church, no government" (Wright, *Slava Bohu*, chap. ii)).

⁴⁶⁷ The Seventh-Day Adventists differ from others not only in questions of doctrine (interpretation) and organization but also in cult (observing the seventh day as Sabbath) (Carroll, *Religious Forces*, p. 8; Clark, *The Small Sects*, pp. 53 ff.).

⁴⁶⁸ On the whole question and also the theological attitude of the Murjites cf. W. Thomson, "The Early Muslim Sects", in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (London: Christophers, 1937), pp. 85-86.

⁴⁶⁹ *ERE*, VIII, 881 ff.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 894.

credited with the introduction of ritual innovations. The most important of these is the sect of Mahualung (founded 1871), who claimed to possess supernatural power because of the incarnation within him of Mohammed's spirit. The members, who had adopted a peculiar method of audible prayer, are not forbidden to attend established mosques, but usually prefer their own. The foregoing illustrates the development *from heresy to schism on ritual grounds*. The attitude of some reform schools in Hinduism (Brahma and Arya Samaj)⁴⁷¹ and the opposition of the Sikhs⁴⁷² against traditional Hindu devotion can also be listed here.

Finally, we should include the opposition culminating in the formation of the anti-ritualistic Pure-Land sects in Mahayana Buddhism, most clearly manifested in the great Shinran Shonin, Honen's disciple, who rejected the idealistic monism, asceticism and secularized monasticism of the traditional Buddhist life (1224). Shonin married, ate meat, abandoned the monk's garb, and denied the possibility of attaining merit through personal virtue or wisdom, thus introducing a new conception of Buddhist life. Shonin became the founder of the Shin sect.⁴⁷³

In the realm of *organization* we find the most decided and violent conflicts. Those who protest against the formal aspects of organized religion frequently consider all constitution, hierarchy,⁴⁷⁴ law, discipline, priesthood, or ministry to be not only mistakes but even apostasy and sin. Differences of opinion as to the validity of orders and consecration caused the Donatist heresy in the fourth century, which eventually culminated in a full-fledged schism. Peter Waldo (twelfth century) objected most strongly to the sacerdotalism of the church and advocated lay preaching and simplification of the cult;⁴⁷⁵ Wycliffe's efforts

⁴⁷¹ John Nicol Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (1915); Lajpat Raya, *The Arya Samaj: An Account of Its Origin, Doctrines and Activities* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915); cf. K. Nag, "The Brahmo-Samaj", and P. Chaturpati, "The Arya Samaj", in *CHI*, II, 392 ff., 421 ff.

⁴⁷² Cf. below, n. 521, and Dorothy Field, "The Religion of the Sikhs", in *Wisdom of the East* (London: John Murray, 1914), p. 27.

⁴⁷³ August Karl Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1917), pp. 108 ff.; Reichelt, *Chinese Buddhism*, chap. viii; Coates-Ishizuka, *Honen*; Sasaki, *A Study of Shin Buddhism*, pp. 97 ff. (Cf. above, n. 305.)

⁴⁷⁴ On Erastus and his objection to the "holy discipline" cf. J. N. Figgis, "Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century", *CMH*, III, 743. For the theological and political views of a typical Erastian in the seventeenth century cf. Wilbur Kitchener Jordan, *Men of Substance: A Study of Two English Revolutionaries, Henry Parker and Henry Robinson* (Cambridge University Press, 1942), pp. 67 ff. (on Henry Parker).

⁴⁷⁵ *ERE*, XII, 663 ff. Cf. George Byron Watts, *The Waldenses in the New World* ("Duke University Publications", Cambridge University Press, 1941), chap. i. Cf. above, nn. 290 ff.

were bent in the same direction.⁴⁷⁶ The Puritan,⁴⁷⁷ Baptist, Congregationalist, and Friends movements also oppose sacerdotalism,⁴⁷⁸ as do many Christian sects.

A. THE INDEPENDENT GROUP

The adoption of its own principle of organization is the distinctive feature marking the development of an aggregate of separatists into an independent group. These latter units may have all types of constitutions, ranging from hierarchies to covenants,⁴⁷⁹ and they exhibit varied attitudes in the various periods of their development. Some bodies disappear or are reintegrated into the main body, others grow into ecclesiastical organizations, while still others become sects.⁴⁸⁰ Typical is the beginning of the Anabaptist secession: "The little societies into which these seceders from the main movement (Protestant) were locally divided were often constituted extremely loosely. But they tended from the first to develop a more or less definite constitution, with a 'Teacher' or 'Shepherd' or Elders, a form of common worship, rules and regulations and a more or less definite creed."⁴⁸¹ Such slow transformation and gradual building-up of a more differentiated organization is the rule. The exception is the conception of a differentiated, even hierarchical or ecclesiastical, order in the initial stages of the development of an independent group. As an example of this type we will choose the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the historical growth of which has been recently thoroughly investigated.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁶ Thomas Cuming Hall, *The Religious Background of American Culture*, chap. ii, discusses fully the anti-sacramentarian and anti-hierarchical attitude of John Wycliffe. Cf. Bernard L. Manning, "Wiclif", *CMedH*, Vol. VII, chap. xvi, pp. 486 ff. Cf. also above, n. 295.

⁴⁷⁷ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, chap. xv, esp. pp. 435 ff.

⁴⁷⁸ Barclay, *Inner Life*, chaps. iii ff., esp. pp. 205 ff.; Newman, *A History of Baptist Churches*, pp. 4 ff.; John B. Horsch, *Mennonite History*, chap. xi; Selbie, *Congregationalism* (London: Methuen & Co., 1927), chap. ii; and above, nn. 427 ff. and 440, and below, n. 526.

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. above, n. 286. A very good analysis of federal theology and sociology is in Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, p. 375. There, App. B, a history and bibliography of the term.

⁴⁸⁰ For the differences in the principles of organization in the four main branches of the "Ancient Church" in Amsterdam (Ainsworth, Robinson, Johnson, Smyth) cf. Barclay, *Inner Life*, pp. 99 ff. For the Swiss and German Brethren of the Reformation era see Horsch, *op. cit.*, Part II.

⁴⁸¹ J. W. Allen, *Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 36; John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1931* (Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society, 1931), chap. i.

⁴⁸² Older bibliography on the Church of the Latter-Day Saints is in "Mormons" (art.), in *ESS*, X, 74 ff.; new bibliography in Anderson's and Dwyer's books (n. 489 below); the latest study is Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah*

In view of the comparatively short period since its inception, we would hardly expect to find so elaborate a system of church organization and government as this semi-ecclesiastical body possesses. Various phases of its history can be distinguished, marked by inner development as well as by the reactions of outsiders (Missouri-Illinois-Utah).⁴⁸³ A very intricate organization has been set up to keep this theocratic body together,⁴⁸⁴ whereby not only the religious but also the civic (economic and political) life of its members is regulated.⁴⁸⁵

Its backbone is the priesthood with its two orders ("Aaronitic" and "Melchizedek"). Joseph Smith was supposedly ordained into the former, minor, order by John the Baptist and later received into the higher order by the great apostles of Jesus.⁴⁸⁶ The first has the function of preaching and blessing; the second, of healing and prophesying. The offices of the "Aaronitic" are: deacon, teacher, priest; of the "Melchizedek": elder, seventy, high priest and bishop, patriarch, apostle, presiding high priest. The area of the church is divided into stakes, and these again into wards. The government works through the quorums of the priesthood: the lesser priesthood, the seventy, and the high priests.⁴⁸⁷

"The Church is the body of believers, organized by the priesthood according to divine law." According to definition, its purpose is to co-ordinate, "through its philosophy and organization, every necessary activity for the consummation of the plan of salvation".⁴⁸⁸ It is interesting to follow the attitude which this semi-ecclesiastical body—being historically a group which

with *Special Reference to Mormonism in Southern Utah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942). Cf. also esp. Ephraim Edward Ericksen, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), and George B. Arbaugh, "Evolution of Mormon Doctrine", *ChH*, IX (1940), 157 ff.

⁴⁸³ For the ethics typical of these different stages (*Binnenmoral*, utilitarian tendencies, institutionalism) see Ericksen, *op. cit.*, chap. xi. For sources of conflict see *ibid.*, chaps. viii-x.

⁴⁸⁴ This rule is called "theocratic" by Ericksen (*ibid.*, p. 4).

⁴⁸⁵ For the regulation of the economic life of the community cf. *ibid.*, chap. viii; Anderson, *op. cit.*, chap. xiv; and esp. Edward Jones Allen, *The Second United Order among the Mormons* ("Studies in History, Economics and Public Law", No. 419 (New York: Columbia University Press; London: P. S. King & Sons, 1936)), tracing both the first (1831-34) and the second attempt (1874-85) to realize the Order, which its enemies called "a combination of communism, aristocracy and priestcraft" (*ibid.*, p. 68).

⁴⁸⁶ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 334 ff. Cf. also n. 487.

⁴⁸⁷ For all details of Mormon organization see the semi-official handbook *Priesthood and Government*, comp. John A. Widtsoe (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1939). There, chap. i, the "succession from Adam (Moses) to Joseph Smith"; the eternity of priesthood (p. 33); powers (chap. iii); prerequisites (chap. v); quorums (chap. xi); mission (chap. xxvii); ordinances (p. 28).

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

seceded, sociologically, an independent body with ecclesiastical structure—took towards religious minorities within the borders of its territory, and the effect their activities had upon the life of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints. A recent investigation by a Roman Catholic scholar has shed some light on this new question.⁴⁸⁹

If this church can be called an independent body of the ecclesiastical type, the Irvingite church may be called a sectarian ecclesiastical body.⁴⁹⁰ A very stimulating recent analysis of the development of the Catholic Apostolic church, which originated from a protest of mainly three men, a Presbyterian (E. Irving) and two Anglicans (H. Drummond and J. Cardale), shows clearly stages through which it grew into an authoritarian, sacerdotal, sacramental, and ritualist body. The first stage of the *collegium* is represented by the successive house meetings under the leadership of Drummond, who at first had as little suspicion that a secession would result as had the co-founder, Irving.⁴⁹¹ The second stage is marked by the congregation in Newman Street Chapel, with "angels", "elders", "prophets", etc., in appearance. The introduction of the apostolate indicated unmistakably secession and the constitution of a sectarian ecclesiastical body with full ritual and apparatus. Pierce Butler, to whom we owe the best appraisal of this group, has suggested a comparison with the Tractarian movement which proves fruitful as far as motivation, social background, and general tendencies are concerned.⁴⁹² Sociologically, however, the secession and new order make for a most decisive difference, as do theologically the chiliastic and pneumatic elements in the Irvingite community.

B. THE SECT

We have now to turn to the discussion of sectarianism proper. The term "sect"⁴⁹³ originally had a derogatory connotation

⁴⁸⁹ Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict, 1867-1890* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941), esp. chap. vi. Cf. there on Roman Catholic and Episcopal, the first minorities in Utah (chap. ii). First gentile social organization in 1864 (*ibid.*, p. 30).

⁴⁹⁰ Pierce Butler, "Irvingism as an Analogue of the Oxford Movement", *ChH*, VI (1937), 101 ff.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 108 ff.

⁴⁹³ Troeltsch's definition has become the classical one (cf. his *Soziallehren*, pp. 360 ff., 794 ff.). For a sociological treatment of the causes of sectarianism see John L. Gillin, "A Contribution to the Sociology of Sects", *AJS*, XVI (1910), 236 ff. The economic factor as co-determining the type of religious fellowship is studied by Pope, *Millhands and Preachers*, chap. vii. Cf. Ellsworth Faris, "The Sect and the Sectarian" in *The Nature of Human Nature* (McGraw-Hill, 1937). Cf. also Niebuhr, *Sources of Denominationalism*,

because it was used by the churches to designate schismatic groups.⁴⁹⁴ This theological use of the term is justified in the context of normative expositions of faith. (For this distinction cf. chap. i, sec. 1.) In the modern study of religion additional attempts have been made to determine sociologically the nature and structure of the sect. It should be borne in mind, however, that a full understanding of its character cannot be achieved except by careful consideration of its self-interpretation, a methodological requirement which holds true for the study of all religious groups. This aspect will have to supplement the purely historical task of tracing the origin and external development of such groups.

Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch define the sect as a contractual society, in distinction to the institutional ecclesiastical body. Yet groups which are sectarian in origin and originally dependent on larger bodies may cultivate the ideal of the church and ultimately develop into an ecclesiastical body. Similarly, an ecclesiastical body may grow out of a community based originally on contract. H. R. Niebuhr likens the church to the "natural social grouping" because the individual is born into it, whereas he must join the sect.⁴⁹⁵ However, this is true to only a limited extent. It cannot be denied that people join a church and are born into a sect. Niebuhr is aware of this fact and concludes that by its very nature the sect can exist only one generation. This is, however, not necessarily the case; sects like the Russian Khlysty and Dukhobors and certain German Baptist groups in the United States (Dunkers, Amish) have perpetuated themselves for generations. From the sociological point of view Howard Becker offers a typology of religious groups which includes "ecclesia", "sect", "denomination", and "cult", emphasizing the compulsory character of the first, the elective principle of the

pp. 17 ff., and Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1937), p. 24 (Niebuhr's definition). Here is a good orientation on the teachings and structure of sectarianism in the United States and also some recent statistics. Cf., because of its typological importance, the sociological analysis of the Amana society, Grace E. Chaffee, "The Isolated Religious Sect as an Object for Social Research", *AJS*, XXXV (1929), 618 ff., and the psychological study of Robert P. Casey, "Transient Cults", *Psychiatry: Journal of the Biology and Pathology of Interpersonal Relations*, IV (1941), 525 ff.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. the survey on the development of the use of the term "sect" in "Sektenwesen" (art.), in *PrRE*, XVIII, 156 ff. Cf. Carl Mayer, *Sekte und Kirche* ("Heidelberg Studien aus dem Institut für Sozialwissenschaften" (Heidelberg: Weiss, 1933)); J. L. Neve, *Churches and Sects in Christendom* (Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Library Board, 1940), pp. 33 ff.

⁴⁹⁵ Niebuhr, *Sources*, pp. 17 ff.

second, defining as "denomination" the advanced stage of the sect with the original fervour disappearing, and, as "cult", private personal religion of the mystic type.⁴⁹⁶ Faris, in his interesting sociological sketch of sectarianism,⁴⁹⁷ emphasizes the importance of the "modern isolated sect" for the study of its nature. He says that if sociologists "cared to give the same careful and detailed study to the foot-washing of the Dunkers or the dancing of the Shakers as they do to the totem dances of the Australians or the taboos of the Bantus, the material would not only be found equally interesting, but in all probability more fruitful." He is right. However, we do not face alternatives here. The comparative study of primitive religious traits in advanced cultures and sectarianism has already proved very revealing.⁴⁹⁸ Faris does not distinguish a sect which results from a specific protest and maintains a particular attitude from any other type of religious grouping, which may owe its origin and existence to a multitude of factors and may have any variety of structure. When he says that "the condition of unrest and confusion loosens the bonds of union and sometimes a few kindred spirits find each other and a nucleus is formed",⁴⁹⁹ he has described the genesis of independent grouping but not necessarily of a sect. Faris stresses rightly the point that it is not always the similarity with a person's traditional or individual thought but frequently the differences from it which prove to be the attraction of the "sectarian" community for him.

It is not realized everywhere that even in primitive society a great number of motives play a part in the formation of new cult groups. "In the villages", says a student of the Skidi Pawnee Indians, "were always many ambitious men unable to attain membership in the regular organizations. It is never difficult to secure a following, no public functions at first, no official recognition. Yet in time of need they might render service that would give them social prestige."⁵⁰⁰ Such motives contribute in more complex cultures quite frequently to the growth of sects. We agree with Troeltsch that a sect, as distinct from the independent group in general, is marked by its selective character ("religious

⁴⁹⁶ Becker and Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, pp. 624 ff.

⁴⁹⁷ Faris, "The Sect" in *The Nature of Human Nature*, chap. v, p. 46.

⁴⁹⁸ The primitive type of "revival" has been studied by Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*. Analogies in sectarianism: Clark, *The Small Sects*, chap. iv, and R. J. Jones, "Comparative Study of Religious Cults".

⁴⁹⁹ Faris, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁵⁰⁰ James R. Murie, "Pawnee Indian Societies", *AMNH*, XI (1916), 543 ff., 579-80.

élite"),⁵⁰¹ places intensity above universality, and tends to maintain uncompromising radical attitudes, demanding the maximum from its members in their relations to God, the world, and men. Sectarian standards of morality are oftentimes very high and austere; religious sincerity frequently distinguishes the members favourably from the masses who belong to the ecclesiastical bodies. It is for this reason that one hesitates to classify members of the Scientist society—an independent body in our terminology—the Dunkers, the Amish, etc., indiscriminately in the same category with the Oneida Community, the House of David, or the Russellites.⁵⁰² It is the same error which historians have so frequently made in collecting totally incompatible and dissimilar groups and not only classifying but evaluating them under a common heading like "Anabaptists", "Enthusiasts", "Schwärmer", etc.—a habit against which justifiable protests have recently been levelled.⁵⁰³

The rigorism of the sect often expresses itself in external details (dress, nomenclature), and bizarre and fantastic features may be displayed.⁵⁰⁴ If the radicalism should be expressed in negative instead of positive forms (anomism, licentiousness), we would suggest that such a group be called a *band*, not a sect. Rigorism may be reflected in doctrine as well as in discipline. Ultimately it is the spirit and not any clear-cut overt manifestation which distinguishes the sect. While the objection of some sects and independent groups to the traditional forms of faith, ritual, and authority leads to a rejection of all standardized expression, such forms in various guises tend to re-emerge with changing circumstances and to continue functioning.

We concur with the authoritative sociologist who points out that sects (or independent groups generally) originate during

⁵⁰¹ Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, pp. 360 ff.; Alphonse, "Le Type sectaire", in *TICHR*, 1908, II, 354 ff., stresses "limitation".

⁵⁰² In the most recent study on American sectarianism (Clark, *The Small Sects in America*) we find a classification into "pessimistic", "perfectionist", "charismatic", and "legalistic" sects. The material and the statistics are very interesting, but the categories of "Legalism" and "Egocentrism" (Christian Science, etc.) are objectionable. On moral standards cf. *ibid.*, pp. 272-73; Mennonite sects, pp. 223 ff.; Baptists, pp. 238 ff.; House of David, p. 191; Russellites, pp. 58 ff. On the latter see also M. S. Czatt, *The International Bible Students (Jehovah's Witnesses)* ("Yale Studies in Religion", Vol. XI (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933)). Written for a larger public and stressing the sensational aspects are Charles W. Ferguson, *The Confusion of Tongues: A Review of Modern Isms* (Heinemann, 1929); Victor Francis Calverton, *Where Angels Dared To Tread* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1941) (on the communistic societies on a religious basis). Cf. also E. S. Bates, *American Faith*, Book IV, and below, chap. vi, nn. 512, 532.

⁵⁰³ Cf. Robert Friedman, "The Anabaptists", *Church History*, IX (1940), 341 ff.

⁵⁰⁴ Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 280 ff.; Sachse, *German Sectarians*, I, 294 ff.

times when the fixed order is collapsing—with sudden changes of political power, or reorientation of a society⁵⁰⁵—and interprets this phenomenon as follows: “The sect is the effort of the whole community to integrate itself anew.”⁵⁰⁶

Sectarian groups usually have high regard for charismatic authority (immediate inspiration, spirit,⁵⁰⁷ inner light, etc.),⁵⁰⁸ which replaces tradition. They develop in one of several directions. Either they remain small in numbers and rigoristic in their attitude (sectarian type), or they abandon this principle in practice, while maintaining their “ideal” in theory, and so either develop into an ecclesiastical body⁵⁰⁹ or split anew into lesser groups.⁵¹⁰ These small groups may merge with other groups or be re-absorbed into the main body. The first type, which steadfastly clings to its original principles,⁵¹¹ is exemplified by the Primitive Baptists, the Primitive Quakers, or the Amish. The expanding type is illustrated by the main Baptist groups, the Methodists, and the Mormons; while the reabsorbed groups can be studied in the Taborites⁵¹² and various types of millenarians of earlier days. Frequently, new dissensions within the sect may lead to more separations. Illustrative is the division of the Plymouth Brethren community of the nineteenth century into six different groups (numbered from I to VI) or of the Mennonites in sixteen separate bodies. Faris quotes the example of the Disciples, who split on the question of the use of the organ in the church, and of the Dunkers, who could not be reconciled on the proper procedure in the feet-washing ritual. Apropos of the influence of historical development on the sectarian, Faris remarks: “Since the sectarian is the individual aspect of his sect, he changes when his group changes, and his group changes with a changing set of relations.”⁵¹³

Troeltsch has pointed out two types of separatist or sectarian attitude. One is highly emotional, actively revolutionary,

⁵⁰⁵ Gillin, “Sociology of Sects”, pp. 236 ff.

⁵⁰⁶ Faris, *op. cit.*, p. 48; on the tendency to isolation, *ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵⁰⁷ Again Russian and American sectarianism supply examples. For the mystical variety in the typology of the former, its sources, and its forms cf. Conybeare, *Russian Dissenters*, Part III; Miliukov, *Russian Culture*, chap. vi.

⁵⁰⁸ On the spiritualist principle in exegesis as a criterion see W. Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II; Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, pp. 864 ff.; on Schwenkfeld: *RGG*, V, 354–55; on Russellite exegesis: Clark, *The Small Sects*, pp. 38 ff.; Czatt, *International Bible Students*.

⁵⁰⁹ For the Moravian church cf. Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, chaps. iii ff.

⁵¹⁰ Clark, *The Small Sects*, pp. 218 ff., 228.

⁵¹¹ Gillin, “Sociology of Sects”, pp. 249–50, stresses the negative character of the main sectarian tenets. Positive orientation in teaching and cult alters necessarily the sociological structure.

⁵¹² Cf. above, n. 295.

⁵¹³ “The Sect”, pp. 56, 59.

highly radical, and the other is moderate, passive, silently suffering.⁵¹⁴ This statement, gleaned from a study of Christian sectarianism, is generally applicable to all faiths. Of the revolutionary Reformation groups in England and on the Continent we have spoken already. The modern Irvingites and the Pentecostal groups preserve their "enthusiastic" spirit with exceptional fervour,⁵¹⁵ the latter coupling it with contempt towards law and custom (anomism). Groups with a similar attitude were the Montanists in early Christianity,⁵¹⁶ the Libertinists of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, certain radical groups in the Reformation era,⁵¹⁷ the millenarians, and, in Russian Christianity, the Skoptsy and Khlysty.⁵¹⁸ Various factors contribute to determine the character of sectarian cults, the temperament and character of the leader—frequently an eccentric⁵¹⁹—and his followers and cultural and social conditions being chief among them.

Generally speaking, Mohammedan sects are more active and aggressive than the Buddhist ones, but both types are found in each faith. The Mohammedan Kharijites, the Karmatians, and the Wahhabi are active, while the Jurjites, the Brethren of Basra, and the Bahai⁵²⁰ are of the passive type. However, the temper changes with the times. In Buddhism the Zen and Nichiren groups are active, but most of the Mahayana groups are quiescent. Sikhism, historically a Hindu sect, sociologically an independent body, probably inherited its militant nature from Islam, to which it is greatly indebted. The development of this group is interesting because in the successive stages of its development various typologically different forms of grouping become apparent. It seceded from Hinduism with the protest of Nanak.⁵²¹ An apostolic succession of charismatic leaders perpetuated the

⁵¹⁴ Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, pp. 360 ff., 794 ff., 942 ff. Of course, this attitude might be transitory, owing to empirical circumstances (persecution), but it may also be constitutional. Cf. Faris's warning, *op. cit.*, p. 56; also the groups studied by Benz, *Ecclesia spiritualis*.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, chap. iv.

⁵¹⁶ Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, chap. xv.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. above and Bainton, *David Joris*, pp. 14–15, on the Melchiorites. The two types are well illustrated in the movement studied by Horsch, *Memnonite History*, cf. esp. chaps. xx and xxvi.

⁵¹⁸ Adeney, *op. cit.*, pp. 450 ff.; Miliukov, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff., 92 ff.

⁵¹⁹ That is emphasized by Gillin, "Sociology of Sects", p. 248. No typology of sectarian leadership has been as yet attempted.

⁵²⁰ Cf. above, nn. 301, 382, and 140.

⁵²¹ Cf. ERE, XI, 507; Bloomfield, "The Sikh Religion", in *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, ed. D. G. Lyon and G. F. Moore (Oxford University Press, 1912); S. Nihal Singh, "The Origin and Growth of Sikhism", CHI, II, 222 ff.; Dorothy Field, *The Religion of the Sikh* (London: John Murray, 1914); C. H. Lochlin, "The Riddle of Sikhism", IRM, XXVII (1938), 226, on the interpretation of the Granth.

spirit of the founder. The relatively democratic circle of followers developed into a brotherhood under the leadership of the second guru and became a strong, hierarchically organized militant body through the initiative of the fourth and fifth gurus. Under the second leader, Amar Das, the recluses (Udasi) were set apart from the laity. The fifth guru renounced the monk's habit, until then the garb of the guru, and turned the community into a military order, governed by the "holder of the two swords", an interesting parallel to Western medieval conceptions. Under the tenth guru (installed 1676) "democratic guarantees" were set up with the establishment of the "equalitarian khalsa".⁵²² This order was again reversed, and an autocratic, kingly rule was introduced under the illegitimate eleventh guru, Banda. After this interval the guruship was permanently discontinued and the territory of the Sikhs became divided into various petty states. These have clung consistently to their principles, the democratic and theocratic ideals of the khalsa (order). Numerous subdivisions have also developed in Sikhism,⁵²³ the most important being the "easy-going" Sahijdhari, who were for the most part followers of the teachings of Nanak, and the "long-haired" Kesdhari Sikhs, organized in the khalsa.

So we can safely conclude that characteristic attitudes rather than specific theological and philosophical doctrines determine the sociological type of the sect or, in some instances, of the independent group. The theologoumena, customs, habits, and practices as well as the constitution of these groups are justified and explained by their members by the claim that they are renewing the original spirit of the absolute or relative beginnings, that is, the foundation of the religion or a reformation. It is hardly possible to link the sect definitely with equalitarian (democratic) or authoritarian, activist or pacifist ideals exclusively, because different conditions bring about different developments. Leadership assumes different forms, but a fit generalization may be borrowed from a recent monograph on a Russian-American sectarian group: "The Molokan leader is the group personified."⁵²⁴

This leads us to a further consideration. The type of radical protest which we have studied in this paragraph frequently has been interpreted by some exclusively as a religious reaction, but

⁵²² On his "baptism" of the sword see Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁵²³ On the *Singha Sabha* and *Akhali* reform movement in Sikhism, *ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵²⁴ Pauline Vislick Young, *Pilgrims of Russian Town*, pp. 80 ff. There the following qualifications for leadership among the Molokans are enumerated: age, experience, practical efficiency, religious inspiration, virtue.

this view represents as distorted a picture as the opposite exaggeration. Historical, social, and cultural factors influence greatly the development of sectarian movements, most of which spring initially from more or less complex impulses. An inquiry into the history of the great founded religions, Christianity, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Islam, and the reform and sectarian movements which originated in them gives unmistakable support to this assertion. Among non-Christian religions, Mazdakism in Persia is a revealing example of the complexity of motives and tendencies in sectarianism.⁵²⁵ Christensen defines it as "a reform of the religion of Mani", sharing with the latter some theological principles and the ideal of a liberation from all the obstacles to perfection, among which Mazdak emphasizes social inequality. This inequality must be eliminated. "It appeared necessary to take from the rich to give to the poor and thus to re-establish original equality." The temporary support of King Kavadh (531) did not save Mazdakism from ultimate eclipse. Though widely spread among the lower classes and apparently well organized at the time when it was receiving official support, political intrigues on the part of the sect's leaders caused its former protector to abolish it in A.D. 520. It cannot be the task of the sociologist of religion, whose concern is the study of types and structures of religious groups, to investigate the economic, social, ethnic, and cultural background against which the rise of the independent religious group and the sect has to be seen. That will have to be done by the historian, economist, and sociologist, but a warning may again be voiced which echoes some previous considerations in the first part of this book.

On the other hand, it has recently become popular to explain sectarianism as a result of predominantly or even exclusively economic and social factors and conditions. Though there is some truth in this theory, it should not be pressed to the point of ignoring the genuine religious experiences which more often than not supply the initial impulse. The socio-economic factor has become increasingly important in the development of sectarianism in modern times, especially in the nineteenth century, both in the East and in the West. The growth of sectarian groups in the United States has been even more affected by these factors than those abroad. This is well illustrated by Gillin's and Niebuhr's analysis of the sources of American denominationalism.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁵ RGG, V, 389. Cf. Christensen, *L'Iran*, chap. vii, esp. pp. 330 ff., 338, 354.

⁵²⁶ Cf. also D. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont*, chap. viii; Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia*, chap. xi. Cf. also below, chap. vi, sec. 8.

It seems fair to say that the rise and the development of sectarianism are more strongly influenced by external factors than are those of other forms of religious organization. Yet even here it is in certain cases as reasonable to regard secessionary movements as secularized developments of originally religious impulses and forces as it is to interpret spiritual attitudes and activities wholesale as reflexes of material conditions. That social and economic differentiation contribute to religious differentiation will be discussed in general in the sixth chapter of this book.

The study of the relations of the sect to society at large presents additional problems. In order to preserve its peculiar character and its integrity, the sectarian group—more “totalitarian” than any other kind of religious grouping—is likely to shield itself as effectively as possible against outside interferences and influences. The first generation, welded together by decisive experiences, finds it usually easier to keep together and to maintain the standards and tradition of the group than the succeeding ones. The problem of holding the young and of preventing their apostasy is particularly pressing under modern conditions (facility of contacts in urban areas, exigencies of labour and social life).⁵²⁷ Many a sect has disappeared because the assimilating power of its religious and cultural environment proved stronger than its own strength of resistance and faith. The distinction of being different from others can turn easily into a handicap, particularly when and where the attention and suspicion of the main community or larger religious bodies is roused. Times of stress (plagues, wars) will increase existing antagonisms and hostilities and possibly lead to hardship and persecution. From such, a sect may emerge strengthened or it may—as many have done—crash and vanish.

Just as secession marks its origin, so its reabsorption into society may indicate the final phase in the history of this type of group. The description of a middle western sect is typical: “The sect is a spontaneous social movement which arises under describable conditions, splits off from the inclusive group, goes through a period of conflict and acute self-consciousness which has value from the standpoint of organization, passes through another period of isolation and integration in which a community form of life is likely to develop, gradually sets up contacts with the wider

⁵²⁷ Cf. again P. V. Young, *Pilgrims of Russian Town*, esp. Part III; Erickson, *Mormon Group Life*; cf., for the general situation, William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant: Monograph of an Immigrant Group* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918), I, 89–90, and Vols. IV and V; Wright, *Slava Bohu*, chap. xlvii; Sessler, *op. cit.*, chap. ix.

community and finally shows a tendency to become absorbed into the inclusive group."⁵²⁸

We have seen that the original secessionary protest against the attitude of the parent ecclesiastical body may be based on the relations of the latter to the higher forms of non-religious organization, particularly the state. Political dissension is a frequent issue.⁵²⁹ It may be based on religious and moral principles exclusively or just on purely political grounds. The dissent which gave rise to so many influential independent and sectarian movements in Christian and non-Christian bodies has frequently been caused by opposition to the state and objection to the subservience of the ecclesiastical body to the state. The protest may be directed against certain laws or constitutions as being incompatible with inner religious convictions or against an individual ruler or authority. Sects may resemble ecclesiastical bodies in their relations to the state. Although it is true that the majority of sectarian groups dislike interference by the state, it is not impossible that a sect might welcome strong, official protection or support. A unique situation prevails in Japanese Shinto in this respect. In addition to the official state cult, there are groups registered as private Shinto—also called "sects". Although originating almost always in private protest, some anomalously try to further a closer alliance between their own cult and the state and oppose attempts to separate them. Among these are the Shinto Honkyoku, Shinri Kyo, and Taisha Kyo (called "Pure Sects" by Holtom). Characteristic are the main teachings of the Taisha Kyo: "(1) to accept and observe the divine intention of Okuni-Nushi-no Kami (deity) respecting the administration of the state and the ruling of the spirit world; (2) to make plain the Great Way of the Gods and to bring to full expression the inherent character of our people; (3) to serve the Imperial family and the state, above, and to perform our mutual duties in society, below."⁵³⁰

This closes our survey of types of specifically religious organization of society.

⁵²⁸ Chaffee, "The Isolated Sect", p. 623.

⁵²⁹ Cf. for the age of the Reformation the bibliographical footnotes to chap. vii. For Islam see W. Thomson, "The Early Muslim Sects", pp. 71 ff. The "originating and determining motives" for the formation of the majority of the Mohammedan parties were political (*ibid.*, p. 78), but the exceptions the author deals with are very significant.

⁵³⁰ Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, pp. 189 ff., 201.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION AND SOCIETY. II: RELIGION AND DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN SOCIETY

By defining "sociology of religion" as the study of the inter-relation of religion and society, we assume that religious impulses, ideas, and institutions influence and, in turn, are influenced by social forces, social organization, and stratification. We have previously shown that religion throughout the history of human civilization has had a definite ascertainable influence upon society. In our fourth chapter we illustrated the role played by religious motives and inspiration in the integration of natural groups in society. We shall devote this chapter to an analysis of the relations between religion and society with particular attention to the effects of social differentiation, as reflected in the variety of occupation, rank, and status upon religious attitudes and institutions.

I. SIMPLE AND COMPLEX SOCIETY

There is no need for us to review the various theories of the origin of society which have been set forth by philosophers, jurists, sociologists, and anthropologists.¹ We are fortunate in being able to skirt the prolonged dispute over the contract and organivistic,² individual and collectivistic, theories of society.³ It is well, however, that we appreciate to the full the singular complexity and the dynamic nature of all social development and look with suspicion upon oversimplified schemes and theoretical assumptions claiming to provide adequate interpretation. According to MacIver, society is to be conceived of as an "invisible

¹ See, for a résumé, Fossey John Cobb Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas from the Middle Ages to the Victorian Age* (London: G. G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1926); Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1928); "Society" and "Sociology" (arts.), in *ESS*, VII, 225 ff., and the bibliography in our chap. i, sec. 1, nn. 33, 36.

² MacIver, *Society*, pp. 39 ff.

³ Francis William Coker, *Organismic Theories of the State* ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law", Vol. XXXVIII, No. 101 (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910)); Erich Kaufmann, *Über den Begriff des Organismus in der Staatslehre des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1908); "Social Organism" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 138 ff.; Ralph Barton Perry, *General Theory of Value: Its Meaning and Basic Principles* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1926), esp. chaps. xiv, xv.

structure". It is the "organization of human relationships, built, sustained, and forever being changed by human beings".⁴

It is impossible to analyse social structures without paying attention to dynamic processes; only by studying these processes can we understand the emergence of new social forms and institutions within a given society and appreciate their functions in it. As a matter of procedure we shall deal first in abstract fashion with typical factors and forms of social organization which bear on religion, after which we shall review the impact of the dynamics of change and transformation upon religious forms and institutions.⁵

Although it would be a great mistake to picture primitive societies indiscriminately in terms of undifferentiated individual, cultural, and social units with a maximum of equalitarian standardization and complete identity of religious and secular organization, it is also quite obvious that only with growing differentiation⁶ can a marked influence of social organization upon religion, and vice versa, be discerned.⁷ As long as there is no division of labour,⁸ property,⁹ or rank,¹⁰ as long as there is no development of individuality and all that it implies, we cannot well

⁴ MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁵ Cf. the work of Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Process* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918); George H. Mead, "Cooley's Contribution to American Social Thought", *AJS*, XXXV (1929), 693 ff., and "Social Process" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 148 ff.

⁶ Cf. Georg Simmel, *Über soziale Differenzierung: Eine soziologische und psychologische Untersuchung* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890), and *Soziologie, Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1908), p. 1922; Cecil Clare North, *Social Differentiation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926); Richard Thurnwald, "Schichtung" (art.), in *RLV*, XI, 230 ff.; R. H. Lowie, "Social Organization" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 141 ff.; Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York & London: Harper & Bros., 1927).

⁷ A very stimulating discussion is Ruth Bunzel's "Economic Organization of Primitive Peoples", in Franz Boas (ed.), *General Anthropology* (Harrap, 1938), chap. viii, pp. 327 ff., regarding the interplay of material (technological), formal (sociological), psychological, and historical factors in the development of types of economic systems. Cf. also above, chap. iv.

⁸ Fundamental: Emile Durkheim, *De la division du travail social* (5th ed.; Paris: F. Alcan, 1926) (translated by George Simpson as: *Émile Durkheim on the Division of Labor in Society* (1933)). Cf. Robert K. Merton, "Durkheim's Division of Labor in Society", *AJS*, XL (1934), 319 ff. And, though less known and quoted, Heinrich Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900), a fine supplement to his more famous book.

⁹ Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (Routledge, 1925), chap. ix. Cf. also Charles Gore, *Property: Its Duties and Rights, Historically, Philosophically and Religiously Regarded* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1913).

¹⁰ An analysis of the elementary attitudes and relations on which the division of labour, rank, etc., are based (interest, co-operation, conflict, etc.) will be found in treatises on general sociology and social psychology. Cf. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921, 1924); MacIver, *Society*, pp. 50 ff.; Linton, *Study of Man*, chap. viii; North, *Social Differentiation*.

speak of a variety of religious expression induced by social differentiation. Only where the process of social stratification has gone further do religious concepts, forms of worship, and cultic organization show the effects of social conditions and social changes and the latter reveal clearly the stimulus and impact of religious motivation.

2. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND DIFFERENTIATION IN GENERAL

As long as life is lived in "face-to-face" communities (Cooley), direct co-operation is the rule. "In the small group the members work together, decide together."¹¹ Identity of social and cultic units prevails.¹² As the organizational structure becomes more complex, the members of a group "do different tasks toward a common end; they have not only different functions, but different powers, different degrees of participation, different rights and obligations".¹³ A minimum of such diversification exists even in those societies which we class as "most primitive"—a very misleading appellation. The simple, unified community with a minimum of division is well illustrated by some Australian (Arunta),¹⁴ south-eastern Asiatic (Vedda),¹⁵ and South African (Bushman) societies. An eminent anthropologist, Richard Thurnwald, in discussing the economics of this stage mentions as the three main types of "homogeneous societies": predatory tribes, digging-stick agriculturists, and simple herdsmen.¹⁶ The religious expression in myth, cult, and organization is identical within each tribe, although it will differ from tribe to tribe. For example, members of the different totemistic groups of the Australian Arunta have parallel myths, sacred objects (*churinga*), storehouses (*ertnatulunga*), and ceremonies.¹⁷ Their chiefs (*alatunja*)

¹¹ MacIver, *Society*, p. 245. Cf. Robert Ranulph Marett, *Sacraments of Simple Folk* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), chap. viii: "Covenanting".

¹² For an interesting example of an insular group living in a complex modern society but preserving the features of a face-to-face group in its civic and religious organization cf. Pauline Vislick Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932).

¹³ MacIver, *Society*, p. 245.

¹⁴ Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1922), chaps. i-iii.

¹⁵ Cf. Paul Radin, *Social Anthropology* (New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932), pp. 30 ff., 40 ff., illustrating with these two tribes the "simple family community" and the "simple democratic community" type of organization.

¹⁶ Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 278 ff., 59 ff., 63 ff. Cf. also Cyril Daryll Forde, *Habitat, Economy and Society: A Geographical Introduction to Economy* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1934), who, however, in distinction from Thurnwald, is not interested in the correlation of the economic and religious concepts. His typology includes food-gatherers, cultivators, and pastoral nomads.

¹⁷ Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, chaps. iv ff., ix ff.

preside over "secular" as well as "religious" functions. Divisions are vertical and not horizontal.¹⁸ The latter type of division, with its differentiation of activities, customs, and attitudes, becomes prominent only when the ruler and ruled,¹⁹ rich and poor, of a group begin to have less in common with one another than they do with corresponding levels of neighbouring groups. Whereas in some primitive societies everyone works and shares proportionately in the products of his labour, in others there are exemptions and unequal participation in the activities of the tribe and in their fruits. Different sets of values determine the type of wealth preferred as well as its measurement and function. This is well illustrated in Ruth Bunzel's study of the economic organization of primitive peoples,²⁰ in which she analyses the relation of wealth to prestige and points out three types of property: natural objects (land, animals), man-made objects, and incorporeal property, which includes intangibles like names, prayers, and magic formulas.²¹ With such distinctions between man and his neighbour already part and parcel of primitive society, it is but a short step to economic differentiation on a grand scale.

A comparative study of the development of status deriving from a combination of descent, property, and profession shows striking similarities in primitive societies,²² in ancient Mesopotamia, and with the Indo-Germanic tribes (Greeks, Romans, Irish, Teutons, Persians, Brahmanic Indians).²³ The Tanala of Madagascar used to recognize two classes in society: the free *hova*, with gentile affiliation, and the descendants of war captives.²⁴ Another primitive society, the Omaha Indians, for instance, includes several distinct classes. Fortune enumerates chiefs, priests, doctors, society members, and non-privileged persons.²⁵ An

¹⁸ Cf. Marett, *Sacraments of Simple Folks*, chap. vi: "Ruling".

¹⁹ William Christie MacLeod, *The Origin and History of Politics* (London: Chapman & Hall), chap. vii.

²⁰ Bunzel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 333 ff., 345 ff.

²¹ Cf., on the latter type, also Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 235 ff., who reports the typologically interesting example of the North American Notka's twofold conception of intangible goods (legends, etc.): those necessarily transmitted from father to son and those he is not obliged to surrender to him.

²² Philip Drucker, "Rank, Wealth, and Kinship in Northwest Coast Society", *AA*, XLI (1939), 55 ff., emphasizes the fluidity of the stratification based on wealth and birth.

²³ Cf. "Kaste", "Stände", and "Adel" (arts.), in *RLV*, VI, 234 ff.; XII, 380; and I, 18 ff.; Richard Fick, *Die soziale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit* (Kiel: C. F. Häsele, 1897), esp. chap. i-iv; North, *Social Differentiation*, Parts II and III. For "ascribed" and "achieved" status cf. Linton, *Study of Man*, pp. 115 ff.

²⁴ Ralph Linton, *The Tanala: A Hill Tribe of Madagascar* (*FMNH*, Vol. XXII (Chicago, 1933)), pp. 137 ff.

²⁵ Reo Franklin Fortune, *Omaha Secret Societies* ("Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology" (Oxford University Press, 1932)), chap. i, p. 10.

inherited position may have more prestige than individual achievement in determining status. There is a temptation to speak of "castes" even at this level. The term "caste", which in a narrow sense denotes the Hindu institution, is used more broadly to indicate a social or hierarchical organization which "freezes" individuals at the various levels of society.²⁶ In the latter sense we find caste-like stratification in ancient Imperial Rome,²⁷ Egypt, Persia, China, Japan, and Peru. The superiority of the ruling group in power, property, and rank, often owing to previous conquest and domination, is reflected in an equally differentiated religious structure (privileges, cults of ruling groups, etc.). Power is exerted in manifold guises as physical force or intellectual superiority, it may be based on unusual achievements, on personal prestige, or on office-holding. "Power, which is the ability to control, is free-floating in human society, and may become associated with any one of many distinguishing attributes—with physical strength (Eskimo), age (Andamanese), with being the first-born son of the first-born son (Polynesia), with knowledge (Zuñis), psychic gifts or valour in war, or with being born with a caul."²⁸ In Polynesian society only the nobles could hope for immortality.²⁹ They were, however, limited by specific taboos, not binding on the common people. Similarly, in Peru, the Incas dignified by the designation "Children of the Sun" were pledged to a particular cult, special observations, and taboos.³⁰ There also are tendencies to reserve all or particular cultic functions to those especially entitled or obliged by descent, position, or possession to perform them. Even in the more complex cultures we see mythological and theological explanations used to justify dubious appropriation of cultic rights and

²⁶ Govind Sadashiv Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, in *The History of Civilization*, ed. C. K. Ogden (Kegan Paul, 1932) (cited hereafter as "Ghurye, *Caste and Race*"), chap. vi; A. L. Kroeber, "Caste" (art.), in *ESS*, III, 254 ff.

²⁷ Mikhail I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941) (cited hereafter as "Rostovtzeff, *Social History*"), chaps. ii and v.

²⁸ R. Bunzel, "Economic Organization", p. 336; Timasheff, *op. cit.*, Part III. Cf. also the disappointing study on power by Bertrand Russell, *Power: A New Social Analysis* (Allen & Unwin, 1938), Charles Edward Merriam, *Political Power: Its Composition and Incidence* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934), and the politico-sociological analysis of Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, trans. H. D. Kahn (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939), esp. chap. ii.

²⁹ Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (Routledge, 1924), chap. iv; William H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1914), II, 263 ff.; Rosalind Louisa Beaufort Moss, *The Life after Death in Oceania and the Malay Archipelago* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1925), chap. x.

³⁰ Cf. Thomas Athol Joyce, *South American Archaeology* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 110 ff.

privileges by the more powerful classes (Egypt, western Asia, India, China, Japan, and among the Teutons). In Athens the Cleisthenean reform abolished the nobility's monopoly of cultic privileges. "The populace was then assured of its share in religion and cult, and could no longer be excluded according to the caprice of the noble families."³¹

As division of labour, differences in property holdings, and rank increase, the simple dichotomy of ruler and ruled is replaced by a more complex structure.³² Three, four, or even more social strata may develop, with their relative importance determined by the amount of control which they exert over society.³³ Iranian society in the Avestan period consisted of three, in the Sassanian era of four estates³⁴—the clergy, warriors, officials, and people (peasants, artisans), each divided into several professional sub-groups. A recent study points out six distinct groups in ancient Israel.³⁵ Chinese society during the Empire was always divided into castes, less sharply, however, than Indian society.³⁶ After the old feudal order based on gentile affiliation and privileges was replaced by a centralized state bureaucracy, the criterion for individual rank was no longer descent or property but education (examinations). This system as codified in Confucianism assumed the basic equality of all men in theory, but in practice admitted of great modifications.³⁷ For a long period of time four or five groups made up Chinese society: the gentleman (later the scholar), the farmer, the artisan, the merchant, and the servant classes (including the soldiers).

Stratification may be sharp, definite, and stable, or it may be

³¹ Martin P. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, p. 245; Georg Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* (München: C. H. Beck, 1920), pp. 868 ff.

³² Cf. the double class stratification among the Turko-Mongols according to blood relation and economic position (A. E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure* ("Yale Publications in Anthropology", Vol. XX (Oxford University Press, 1938)), pp. 55 ff.).

³³ Thurnwald, *Economics*, notices in turn among all stratified and graded society also a tendency towards recuperating homogeneity.

³⁴ Arthur E. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1936), chap. ii; Henrik Samuel Nyberg, *Die Religionen des Alten Iran* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938), pp. 89 ff. For Zoroaster as creator of the social order in later Zoroastrianism see *ibid.*, pp. 301 ff. Cf. Joseph Denner, "Weltalter, Stände und Herrschaft in Iran", *ARW*, XXXIV (1937), 254 ff., 259, 263.

³⁵ S. Kraus, "Klassenabzeichen im alten Israel", *ZDMG*, LXXX (1926), 1 ff. Cf. Pedersen, *Israel*, pp. 29 ff., esp. pp. 39 ff. (cf. there on the social status of the *gerim*). Cf. also Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu: Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte* (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1923 ff.), II, 1, 2.

³⁶ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Chinese, Their History and Culture* (Macmillan, 1934), II, 204 ff. Cf. Douglas, *Society in China*, chaps. v-vii.

³⁷ Max Weber, *G.A.*, I, 385 ff., 434-35; Latourette, *op. cit.*, II, 34 ff. On the competitive examinations cf. Douglas, *op. cit.*, chap. ix.

somewhat loosely determined and fluid.³⁸ Where the criterion is individual ability, strength, or cunning, the stability of class distinction tends to be less pronounced; but where the criterion is descent or birth, it tends to become fixed.³⁹ Status acquired through heredity is naturally disposed to favour class stratification, with the consequent growth of a noble class. The nobility which is frequently formed through conquest of ethnically different groups is distinguished by property qualifications and professional specialization. Thurnwald stresses the fact that we meet with priests, not warriors, as the first caste in stratified primitive society. He holds that the most important factor in the development of a stratification according to rank is the co-existence of various ethnic elements (communities), especially of groups in which marked racial and cultural differences and, therefore, acute ethnic tension prevail.⁴⁰

The establishment of regulations concerning connubium and commensurability marks the beginning of a genuine caste system, which may intensify monopolistic control over certain activities, privileges, rights, and goods.⁴¹ Struggles, rivalries, continued stratification, and rise of *Dienstadel* fill the history of many a higher civilization. The Natchez of North America had a very distinct example of social hierarchy with division into four castes: the "Suns", who practise exogamy, the noblemen, the honoured men, and the so-called "stinkards". Religious merit may aid a Natchez to rise from the lowest to the third grade.⁴² The religious implications of the Polynesian hierarchy are also manifest: "Social privilege and religious belief were closely intertwined."⁴³

³⁸ The religious significance of the development of nobility, in addition to the economic-political, is strongly emphasized in "Adel" (art.), in *RLV*, I, 18 ff.

³⁹ Cf. William I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), chap. xiii: "Patterns of Distinction".

⁴⁰ Thurnwald, "Kaste" (art.), in *RLV*, VI, 234; Robert H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927), chap. ii, illustrates the stratification of primitive society with western Sudan and central and eastern African castes, which is based partly on ethnical, partly on professional, partly on other differences. Cf. also Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 79 ff., 195 ff.

⁴¹ Cf. Kroeber, "Caste" (art.), in *ESS*, III, 254 ff.

⁴² William Christie MacLeod, "Natchez Political Evolution", *AA*, XXVI (1924), 201 ff. For the religious background see John R. Swanton, "Sun Worship in the Southeast", *AA*, XXX (1928), 206 ff. (comparative study). A caste-like trichotomy (royalty, nobility, commoners) with exogamy is found among the Iowa Indians in distinction from other Plains tribes (Alanson Skinner, "Societies of the Iowa", *Anthrop. Papers, AMNH*, XI (1916), 679 ff., 683 ff.). For the Aztecs see George C. Vaillant, *Aztecs of Old Mexico* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1941), chap. vi, esp. pp. 113, 117.

⁴³ Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, pp. 76 ff. For the stratification of Tongan society, where rank and power did not coincide, see Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Society* (Honolulu, The Museum, 1929), pp. 108 ff.; Herbert Jan Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (Christophers, 1934), pp. 236 ff. On the Maori see Radin, *Social*

In India ⁴⁴ the caste system developed gradually.⁴⁵ Although the Rig-Veda shows beginnings (two colour groups) of distinctions in activities and status, the elaborate involved caste system which flowered in later times was not yet in evidence during this period. This system was rooted in various elements,⁴⁶ among which ethnic variations,⁴⁷ political differences, and division of labour were of outstanding importance. The subjugation of the aborigines, the specialization of occupations such as war, agriculture, and cult, and the constantly growing power of the royalty all sanctioned and encouraged the development of an all-controlling caste system. Providing the favourable environment in which the caste system could flourish and thrive was the religious conception of a cosmic, moral, and ritual order (*rita, dharma*).⁴⁸ The priesthood, an organization probably hereditary as early as Rig-Veda times and scarcely equalled anywhere in the power and prestige which it gradually acquired,⁴⁹ provided the religious sanction for the system. The Indian castes have formed *civitates in civitate*. Strictly regulated in food and in marriage communion, they have their governing body (*panchayat*) with disciplinary power.⁵⁰

The community feeling in a caste-bound society is generally limited, "the citizens owing moral allegiance to their castes first, rather than to the community as a whole".⁵¹ Naturally, this greatly affects the type and extent of religious observances. Regional differences, though important, are secondary to caste affiliations, which determine positive and negative privileges of cultic observance (segregation, attendance at services, performance of rites). Restrictions are more severe in southern than in northern

Anthropology, pp. 69 ff. For the Society Islands see Robert Wood Williamson, *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* (Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 255 ff.

⁴⁴ For a criticism of the term "caste" see Bernhard Brelör, "Megasthenes über die indische Gesellschaft", *ZDMG*, LXXXVIII (1934), 130 ff., who quotes the definition of the *Imperial Gazetteer*: "A caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families, bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with a specific occupation; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community" (p. 163). Cf. H. C. Chakladar, "Social Life in India", *Cambridge History of India*, III, 165 ff.

⁴⁵ *Cambridge History of India*, I, 92 ff.; Ghurye, *Caste and Race*, chap. iii.

⁴⁶ Ghurye, *Caste and Race*, chap. ii.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 111 ff. Cf. on tribal and professional origin of castes M. Weber's analysis, *G.A.*, II, 31 ff., 57 ff., 98 ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. Friedrich Weinrich, "Entwicklung und Theorie der Aśrama Lehre", *ARW*, XXVII (1929), 77 ff.

⁴⁹ Cf. the long list given in *Cambridge History of India*, I, 136; cf. also Fick, *Soziale Gliederung*, chap. viii.

⁵⁰ Ghurye, *Caste and Race*, pp. 7, 18, *passim*; Lewis Sydney Steward O'Malley, *Indian Caste Customs* (Cambridge University Press, 1932), chaps. v and vi.

⁵¹ Ghurye, *Caste and Race*, pp. 40 ff.; O'Malley, *op. cit.*, chap. ii.

India.⁵² "Certain sacraments cannot be performed by any other caste than the Brahmins. The most sacred literature cannot be studied by the Shudras."⁵³ Some subcastes originated on primarily religious grounds: thus the Maratha Deshtash Brahmin are divided into the Rig-Vedi and the Yajur-Vedi subcastes, following the old division of the Veda, and the Dravidian Panka fall into Kabirhas and Saktahas,⁵⁴ a purely "denominational" principle of division. Under the influence of the Hindu system, in Indian Islam we find a twofold or even fourfold stratification with appropriate subdivisions (the *sharif zats*, or high caste, and the *ajlat zats*, or low caste).⁵⁵

Only with modern times⁵⁶ are the traditionally stable castes replaced by more fluctuating groupings ("classes").⁵⁷ These latter are characterized objectively and subjectively by descent, similarity of occupation, wealth, education, modes of life, concepts and feelings, attitudes, and behaviour. They developed first in the West and have only recently begun to expand in the East.⁵⁸

3. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN PARTICULAR

The strong influence of division of labour on primitive culture proves conclusively that even in less advanced civilizations religious cult is not without considerable type differentiation.⁵⁹ This differentiation is partly based on even more fundamental divisions, chiefly that of *sex*.⁶⁰ In many primitive tribes specific activities are divided among the men and women. Taboos in

⁵² Ghurye, *Caste and Race*, pp. 10 ff. On the association of servants (untouchables) see P. Oommen Philip, "The Harijan Movement in India in Relation to Christianity", *IRM*, XXIV (1935), 162 ff.; George Weston Briggs, "The Harijan and Hinduism", *RR*, II (1937), 33 ff.

⁵³ Ghurye, *Caste and Race*, p. 14.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁵ Murray Thurston Titus, *Indian Islam: A Religious History of Islam in India* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1930), pp. 168 ff.

⁵⁶ According to Werner Sombart (*Der moderne Kapitalismus* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1928)), class struggle as motivated by a class-conscious opposition to the existing capitalistic structure of society is a modern phenomenon.

⁵⁷ Cf. Paul Mombert, "Class" (art.), and Morris Ginsberg, "Class-Consciousness" (art.), in *ESS*, III, 531 ff., 536 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. Hans Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the East* (Routledge, 1929), and *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East* (Routledge, 1932), chap. iii: "Classes and Estates". Cf. also below, sec. 8.

⁵⁹ Rightly, however, care is recommended in assuming determination in their relationship by R. Bunzel, "Economic Organization", in *General Anthropology*, ed. Boas, p. 330.

⁶⁰ Cf. above, chap. iv, sec. 7; Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe*, pp. 7 ff.; North, *Social Differentiation*, pp. 88 ff.; Bunzel, "Economic Organization", pp. 369 ff.; W. I. Thomas, *Sex and Society: Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907), esp. pp. 123 ff.; Linton, *Study of Man*, pp. 116 ff.

some tribes exempt certain individuals, such as women or nobles, from working. In some African tribes (Ashanti) "women are debarred from weaving because of their menstrual periods, and a menstruating woman must not touch a loom or speak directly to her husband if he is a weaver".⁶¹ According to Lowie, "it is the men among the Hopi of Arizona but the Navaho women that weave cloth".⁶² Among the South African Kafir, men do the work connected with cattle, women work the fields, etc.⁶³ The criterion of division may be the physical strain involved, the amount of moving about (since men are freer to move about than women), or some other consideration. "Among pastoral and particularly agricultural peoples biological consideration seems to be of no great importance. All the work is done by either the man or the woman."⁶⁴ Be this as it may, sex differences, with their resultant division of labour, have greatly influenced family life, with corresponding effects upon the group's participation in religious activities. In an overwhelming majority of tribes women play little or no role in the cult, at least in its most sacred and important ceremonies. In a number of communities, principally in Africa, the women have their own separate cults; in Australia and Melanesia they are, according to Lowie, completely excluded from community worship.⁶⁵ Among other peoples women may function even exclusively as cult officials.⁶⁶ There appears to be a positive correlation between female physiological and psychological propensities and the special cult function assigned to them, such as divination.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Hambly, *Source-Book for African Anthropology* (FMNH (Chicago, 1937)), pp. 587 ff., 644.

⁶² Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 74 ff., and *The Origin of the State*, pp. 77 ff.

⁶³ Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 82-83, 110 ff., 212 ff. On the divided work according to sex, in fishing and agricultural groups, with the Ovimbundu (East Africa), see Wilfrid Dyson Hambly, "Occupational Ritual: Belief and Custom among the Ovimbundu", *AA*, XXXVI (1934), 157 ff. (cited hereafter as "Hambly, 'Occupational Ritual'").

⁶⁴ Bunzel, "Economic Organization", p. 369.

⁶⁵ Lowie, *Origin of the State*, p. 78. On the exclusion of women from cult functions among the Ugro-Finns cf. Uno Holmberg in *ERE*, X, 336.

⁶⁶ Cf. Daniel Garrison Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), pp. 220 ff., who refers to women "priests" (religious functionaries) with the Dayak of Borneo and American Indians. Some Californian Indian tribes have, as many North Asiatic peoples, woman shamans (Alfred Louis Kroeber in *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925); Yurok: pp. 63 ff.; Maiden: p. 423). Examples of women societies: Robert H. Lowie, "Mandan and Hidatsa Secret Societies", *Anthro. Papers, AMNH*, XI (1916), 323 ff. Cf. also Ruth Landes, *The Ojibwa Women* ("Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology", Vol. V, No. 31 (Oxford University Press, 1938)).

⁶⁷ Differentiation according to sex is quite pronounced in higher religions. On the Egyptian *Gottesweib*, the royal consort of the god Amon, and later regent of Thebes,

Another elemental basis of differentiation in primitive society is that of *age*. The age group, as we observed previously, plays a very significant role not only in primitive but in complex cultures. As far as is known to us, there are no satisfactory systematic and comparative studies in primitive and oriental religions on the effect of age differences on religious attitudes and beliefs, although recent research has provided us with a wealth of material.⁶⁸ It is very likely that in all societies the decisive religious experiences and creative impulses occur as a rule in younger years, whereas the dominant role in organized religion is played by older people. It is the elders who are the backbone of conservatism and traditionalism in the religious life of a people; it is they who since time immemorial have been the official and unofficial guardians of the heritage of fathers.⁶⁹ The history and psychology of conversions, on the other hand, tell of far-reaching changes in religious outlooks and original religious experiences even in the earlier and, less frequently, more advanced stages of life.

Sex and age differences not only determine the type and quantity of work which the individual does, but also determine the prestige attached to the work, a factor which in turn affects the stratification of society and its religious organization. The bearing of social rank on religious status is a subject for later discussion; we shall now examine the growth of occupational specialization of society and note its religious significance.

There are peoples with very little specialization.⁷⁰ The Eskimos, for instance, specialize only in magic, but in that they are exceptional.⁷¹ Cook, doctor, and priest, according to Thurnwald, are distinct occupations among the culturally less advanced hunting and fishing tribes. Specialization in handicraft, however, seems to be primitive⁷² and is, according to the same authority, constantly associated with supernatural powers.⁷³ The amount of specialization in general can be enhanced by three

cf. Adolf Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1934), pp. 201 ff. On woman in the cult of Dionysos cf. Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896 ff.), V, 151 ff., 102, and "Sociological Hypotheses concerning the Position of Woman in Ancient Religion", *ARW*, VII (1904), 71 ff.

⁶⁸ Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 76. Cf. above, chap. iv, sec. 7.

⁶⁹ On "gerontocracy" cf. above, chap. iv, sec. 7, nn. 338 ff.

⁷⁰ *RLV*, V, 321.

⁷¹ Bunzel, "Economic Organization", pp. 371 ff.

⁷² Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 113 ff., esp. pp. 117 ff. The simplest arts (agriculture, fishing, etc.) are known to everyone among the West African Pangwe, but only a stoolmaker can make stools, etc. (p. 125).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 134-35. Handicraft is usually originally housework (family, men's house).

factors: a conducive physical environment, a sufficient modicum of technical development, which itself is accelerated by professional specialization, and differences in rank and social status.⁷⁴ The best-known examples are the Polynesian⁷⁵ and the higher African civilizations.

Specialization in manual work is by no means the only type of specialization found in primitive society. Military activities, participated in exclusively by particular groups or tribes of the society, constitute another aspect of specialization.⁷⁶ Conquest which results in enslavement of captives tends to produce inequality and specialization. Constitutional individual differences may extend rudimentary specialization into full-fledged occupational differentiation. Procuring of food, shelter, and clothing may be undertaken by the entire group, but is usually entrusted to those specially qualified. There are individual specialists and specialist groups in handiwork such as house- and shipbuilding, weapon-making, and other crafts. There are those who specialize in knowledge and in spiritual activities—sorcerers, wizards, doctors, orators, genealogists, seers, and priests are regarded as no less important and essential for the maintenance and welfare of primitive society than are the carvers, potters, or weavers. They fall naturally into special groups, although frequently these different functions may be combined. Examples are the doctoring societies among the Californian and Plains Indians (Omaha)⁷⁷ or the Zuni of New Mexico, with their special protective deities and methods of curing diseases. These organizations are comparable to the associations of cult officials and priests in the higher religions, as the Roman *collegia sacerdotum*⁷⁸ or the Aztec, Japanese, Egyptian, Babylonian, or Brahmanic priestly orders, about which more will be said anon.

It has been shown that the Melanesians, Polynesians, Africans, and the Southwest and Central Americans are well specialized in

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. v: "Technical Skill".

⁷⁵ On the close connection between fishing and religious concepts and rites in Polynesia cf. Williamson, *Central Polynesia*, pp. 243 ff. Cf. there, also, the religious ceremonies accompanying the building of canoes (pp. 173 ff., 251 ff.). For the shark cult of the Melanesian fisher cf. Walter George Ivens, *Melanesians of the Southeast Solomon Islands* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1927), chap. x. On the Maori rites accompanying the initiation of girls into the art of weaving, cf. Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 70 ff.

⁷⁶ Cf. Maret, *Sacraments of Simple Folks*, chap. iii: "Fighting". Cf. also Sebald Rudolf Steinmetz, *Die Philosophie des Krieges* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1907).

⁷⁷ Fortune, *Omaha Secret Societies*, p. 25; Bunzel, "Economic Organization", pp. 978 ff., 508 ff. On Mexican priestly organization see Vaillant, *Aztecs*, chap. xi and pp. 117-18.

⁷⁸ *PWRE*, IV, 379-80; below, chap. viii.

professional skills. Though the primary aim is essentially the satisfaction of basic needs, surplus production often brings with it wealth, prestige, and influence. Thurnwald stresses the fact that the primitives not only perform absolutely necessary work but frequently succeed in accumulating surpluses. This is an indication that economic rationalism does not hold sway everywhere; primitive men do not spurn magical ceremonies causing extra work.⁷⁹

A primitive society is generally classified according to its pre-dominant activity. We have food-gathering, hunting, fishing, horticultural, agricultural, and pastoral tribes.⁸⁰ Some tribes alternate their activities in accordance with the season of the year.⁸¹ On the lowest levels there is more or less homogeneity. As we advance up the scale of culture, we find a greater variety of inter-related or gradated occupations, which eventually form the complex texture of professionally specialized activities of the higher civilizations. The Sumerian society seems to have embraced almost as many trades and professions as our own.⁸²

Religious motives operate not only in the choice of occupation but also in the attitude towards the various types of work and workers.⁸³ An expert on African civilization states: "The most impressive fact in connection with every phase of economic life, whether hunting, agriculture, fishing, rearing cattle, or proficiency in handicraft, is the spiritual attitude of the workers."⁸⁴ We have previously suggested that the basic concept of a cosmic, natural, and moral *order* prevails in most primitive and Eastern societies. The social and political order "below", of which the respective society forms a part, is deemed to reflect the order "above". Responsibilities and duties, corresponding to the nature and status of individuals and groups (example: *dharma* concept in Hinduism), are regulated in accordance with this order, thus guaranteeing adequate social co-operation. The religious conviction that work by individuals and groups is both dignified and

⁷⁹ Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 209 ff.

⁸⁰ A good survey, illustrating each stage with the example of one primitive tribe, is in Radin, *Social Anthropology*, Part III. Cf. also Forde, *Habitat, Economy and Society*.

⁸¹ For the relation of habitation and activity cf. Radhakamal Mukerjee, *Man and His Habitation: A Study in Social Ecology* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1940), esp. chap. i.

⁸² Alfred Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination among the Hebrews and Other Semites* (Hodder, 1938), p. 2; cf. also Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 93 ff., on feudal states and socially graded communities.

⁸³ Cf. William Isaac Thomas, *The Relation of the Medicine Man to the Origin of the Professional Occupations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903), pp. 241 ff.

⁸⁴ Hambly, *Source-Book*, p. 645; cf. also Thurnwald, *Economics*, p. 210.

sacred because it redounds to the benefit of all reconciles the participants to whatever hardships or privations they must cope with. Since the "all" in this case is not merely the sum of the individuals of a community but refers to the world at large, whose foundations are strengthened by such co-operation, the spiritual attitudes connected with all activities of life become intelligible. For cultures of this kind, says an authority on the old Germanic religion, the possibilities of existence depend upon man's doing his duty: if he keeps controlling the soil with his plough and with rites, if he counteracts with his work the destroying powers bent on bedevilling its fertility.⁸⁵ The popular explanation of the religious sanction of labour as being merely a clever device by chiefs and priests to ensure the loyalty of the workers is too superficial to be plausible. No doubt this sanction has many times been misused to bolster concepts and institutions no longer rightly appreciated or understood, thus to enliven the remains of formerly vital and meaningful conceptions. But to accuse religion in general of siding under all circumstances with the existing order of society—sound or sick—means to fail to distinguish between its nature and its forms. Some typical examples will better illustrate the importance for religion of occupational differentiation, which we understand to be one of the chief factors making for stratification of society.

4. OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

(a) *Australia*.—The Murngin are a North Australian tribe of simple culture who draw their sustenance from hunting and fishing.⁸⁶ They must adapt their lives to great cyclical and climactic changes. The social organization is rather complicated, of the type often described since Australia first attracted the attention of Western scholars.⁸⁷ Its nucleus is the kinship system, with exogamous clans and local territories.⁸⁸ Totemism is highly developed, with the spirits abiding in the sacred water-holes.⁸⁹ Having established his totemic relations through his clan, the

⁸⁵ V. Grönbech, "Die Germanen", in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, II, 558; Fick, *Soziale Gliederung*, esp. chap. x.

⁸⁶ William Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization: A Social Study of an Australian Tribe* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1937).

⁸⁷ The most recent discussion is A. E. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Social Organization of the Australian Tribes", in *Oceania*, I (1930), 34 ff. Also separate under the same title (Melbourne: Macmillan & Co., 1931).

⁸⁸ Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.; cf. Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 ff.

⁸⁹ Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

individual is enabled to identify himself with the spiritual world by virtue of the mystical experience of his ancestors. The life of the individual Murngin passes through the well-known *rites de passage*. "The life crises of an individual, including birth, maturity, and death, are set off by elaborate rituals."⁹⁰ Women are excluded, but man's personality is enriched through his participation in the various age-graded rites.⁹¹ The Murngin possess some fundamental myths and elaborate community rites. Besides the stable clan organization, the people gather in "hordes" for the purpose of obtaining a food supply. They may be small groups of kindred people or larger groups containing thirty or more, as in the case of the great ritual celebrations, when food is plentiful. "The ceremonial life definitely enlarges the size of the horde-groups."⁹² Ritual sanction, then, "is the most powerful force in regulating the peaceful behaviour of these larger food-gathering hordes".⁹³ The women gather small animals and vegetable goods; the men fish and kill larger animals.⁹⁴ Simple artifacts are manufactured from the raw materials supplied by the immediate environment.⁹⁵ Control over nature, according to this student, appears to be one of the functions of Australian totemism.⁹⁶ As the dry season is favourable ("plentitude of foods, easy and pleasant surroundings and ample creature necessities, large horde-groups, intense and enlarged social activity, and pleasant existing behaviour, such as hunting and harpooning"), the Murngin try to bring about a repetition of these favourable conditions to "control the wet period and to minimize its effects".⁹⁷ The rituals "relate various parts of the group to each other by use of larger symbols which incorporate smaller ones into configurations that form a unified whole".⁹⁸

It is in the ultimate sanctions of the totemistic system that Murngin society finds its final unity.⁹⁹ A primary motif in the mourning rites is found in the various symbolic rites performed to reintegrate society, close its ranks after the removal of one of its

⁹⁰ Cf. e.g., the detailed description of Australian rites by Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, chaps. vi ff. and xvii.

⁹¹ Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.; cf. above, chap. iv, sec. 7.

⁹² Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 56.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 140 ff.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 149 ff., 471 ff.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 395. Cf. again Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 99, on the integration through the principle of the solidarity of brothers.

members, and once more assert its solidarity. Ceremonial food is gathered from the whole group and eaten in the sacred wells made over the deceased's grave. "The Totem well as the integrating nucleus of clan solidarity organizes clan sentiments into a sacred unity."¹⁰⁰ The relation of the living to the dead and unknown is fundamental. It is the clan division of the kinship system which orients the living Murngin to the profane and sacred parts of the totem well and at death places him within the sacred part of the realm of the dead.¹⁰¹ The totem well typifies the totality of sacred elements of the Murngin social structure.¹⁰²

(b) *Eskimos*.—The Eskimos hunt and fish.¹⁰³ Their Arctic environment supplies the essentials of life—food, clothing, fuel—in meagre fashion. They are obliged to adapt their way of life to the pattern set by their environment. Seasonal changes and the choice of hunting grounds cause continual migrations. Their vital interest in animals, so essential to their existence, is reflected in mythology, cult, taboos, rites, and organization. Particularly interesting is the cult of the sea-goddess (Sedna), the guardian of the marine animals, who is most popular with the central Eskimo.¹⁰⁴ The numerous spirits with which the Eskimo with their fertile imagination people their environment must be propitiated constantly to ensure their co-operation in providing the necessary game supply.¹⁰⁵ "The natives believe that if only the proper propitiatory rites are observed, the souls of the animals that they kill will not perish, but will return to earth in new bodies."¹⁰⁶ Powerful amulets and magical formulas are eagerly sought. A most rigid system of taboos controls the activity—settlement, food—of these peoples.¹⁰⁷ Practically all the material needs of the Eskimos are satisfied by hunting; consequently, most of the taboos are directed at the spirits or protecting deity of the animals. Strong taboos also separate products of the land from those of the sea ¹⁰⁸—"as long as people are catching seal at the coast, no one may work wood in the interior". Others are designed to

¹⁰⁰ Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 344.

¹⁰³ Edward Moffat Weyer, *The Eskimos: Their Environment and Folkways* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London, Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1932).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. xxi. Cf. H. Newell Wardle, "The Sedna-Cycle: A Study in Myth-Evolution", *AA*, II (1900), 568 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Weyer, *op. cit.*, p. 367; W. Thalbitzer, "Die kultischen Gottheiten der Eskimos", *ARW*, XXVI (1928), 364 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Fig. 18.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 367 ff.

prevent contamination between fish and animals (caribou and walrus not to be eaten on the same day). To violate these norms is a serious offence. The Eskimo of Cumberland Sound (Baffin Island) believe that one who neglects to observe religious rites will find that a type of vapour has formed about him which will effectively repel the sea mammals¹⁰⁹ on which he is dependent for sustenance. The *angedkok*, the Eskimo priest, prophet, or magician, who communes with the spirits in special seances, is expected to bestow good luck and success upon the hunter.¹¹⁰ If the *angedkok* should be unfortunate enough to fail in his religious duty, he is very properly punished.

(c) *South India*.—The life of the Toda of southern India is centred about the buffalo.¹¹¹ It is not actually worshipped,¹¹² but the sacred dairies are considered to be the property of the gods.¹¹³ "The milking and churning operations of the dairy form the basis of the greater part of their ritual." The professional activities of these people are clearly reflected in their cult: "The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual, and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes."¹¹⁴ The hierarchy of dairies is characterized by growing definiteness and complexity of ritual, increasing stringency of rules for daily conduct, and expanding elaborateness of the ceremonies attending induction into office. The buffaloes are divided into ordinary and sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*). Among the Tartharol, one of the two main tribes of the Toda, the service of this sacred animal is highly complicated and variegated. The location of the dairy, called *ti*, is a "special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies".¹¹⁵ Strict taboos regulate the office of the various dairymen-priests.¹¹⁶ The *wursol*, one class of them, for example, is chosen from a special clan and has to undergo special ceremonies

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

¹¹⁰ Cf. below, chap. vii, and W. Thalbitzer, "Shamans of the East Greenland Eskimo", in A. L. Kroeber, *Source Book in Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931), pp. 430 ff.

¹¹¹ William Halse Rivers, *The Toda* (London and New York: Macmillan Co., 1906); for the herdsman civilization in general cf. Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 73 ff., and M. Herskovits, "The Cattle-Complex in East Africa", *AA*, XXVIII (1926), 230 ff., 361 ff., 494 ff., 633 ff. "Cattle serve as fines, sacrifices and gifts . . . , but the social and religious importance is greater than the economic use" (Hambly, "Occupational Ritual", *AA*, XXXVI (1934), 163).

¹¹² Rivers, *The Toda*, pp. 429 ff., 447 ff.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, chap. ix.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42 and chap. v.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. iv.

to be fitted for his job. "He may not be touched by any ordinary person." He has two dresses: an ordinary one and one worn at his dairy work and kept there. He sleeps not in his own but in another dairy. Twice a week he is allowed to sleep in the village and to have sexual intercourse. "Except on these occasions he loses his office even if he is touched by a woman."¹¹⁷ After having slept in the hut, he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters.

The taboos incumbent on the *palol*, the highest grade of priesthood, are even more severe.¹¹⁸ Among other restrictions, he may not cut his hair while in office and he may drink the milk of only one species of buffalo. Ordination to all ranks of the service is meticulously prescribed.¹¹⁹ The essential feature is purification by drinking water from special leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of special plants. The priest himself never prepares his food, nor is he allowed to turn his back on the contents of his dairy. All objects used at the *ti*, such as vessels, bells, lamps, are made after certain sacred patterns.¹²⁰ The process of churning and milking is itself elaborate, accompanied by prayers to the gods.¹²¹ Each village composes its own prayers used in all its dairies.¹²² Offerings of animals to the *ti* and to the gods vary greatly from actual sacrifice to transference of property rights.¹²³ Funeral ceremonies culminate in the slaughtering of the buffalo.¹²⁴ The gods of the Toda (ten) live much the same life as the mortal Toda, with their dairies and their buffaloes.¹²⁵ The descendants of the buffaloes created by On, one of the foremost deities, become sacred buffaloes; those created by his wife remain ordinary ones. The myth of the Toda reflects very clearly their chief interest. "Both men and buffalo were created by the gods, and the Todas seem to picture a time when gods, men, and buffaloes lived together on the Nilgiri Hills."¹²⁶ Thurnwald was right in reminding us that the herdsmen and the predatory tribes differ greatly in their religious and magical relations to their animals.¹²⁷

(d) *New Guinea*.—The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea are an agricultural people,¹²⁸ depending for a livelihood on their

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 98 ff.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144 ff.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. vii.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 424 ff., 83 ff.

¹²² *Ibid.*, chaps. v, x.

¹²³ Gunnar Landtmann, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea: A Nature-born Instance of Rousseau's Ideal Community* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1927).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. xiii.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. xix, pp. 182 ff.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

¹²⁸ Thurnwald, *Economics*, p. 84.

gardens.¹²⁹ Following mythical tradition, the woman prepares the garden and the man plants it, particularly in the case of yams. Secret myths and rites accompany the work. Women and men are not permitted to have contact with each other before or during the garden work. Certain rites, including a ritual dance, are calculated to secure fertility for one's garden at the expense of another's. Branches of the bright-coloured rushes which adorn the dancers are afterwards stuck into the ground to bring luck to the plantations.¹³⁰ At the planting of yams, bull-roarers—thin slats of wood—are used, whose voice helps the plants to grow. A mythical being, Maigidubu, is invoked: "Maigidubu, me been plant him *umamu* (yam), you go *susu* (pass water) along garden: you move him ground (with the bull-roarer), wake him up *umamu*, he grow quick."¹³¹ Sometimes masked dances accompany the planting. The planting of banana, coconut, and sage is also connected with special rites.¹³² The *karea* rite is the most important means of communication with the spirits of nature or of the dead. It "forms part of all ceremonies and is performed before and after warfare, hunting, any kind of fishing and harpooning, in gardening, when producing rain, wind, or fine weather, when making friends" and at any extraordinary incident in everyday life.¹³³ The evening before beginning the hunt, the hunter performs the *karea* rite to invoke some special spirits with whom he made contact in a dream.¹³⁴ He sprinkles the juice of a plant used for the preparation of an intoxicating drink in the direction of the supposed dwelling of the spirit and calls his name, saying: "I go that bush, I meet you there, you me (we) go look kangaroo, pig, iguana, anything."¹³⁵

Kiwai ceremonies¹³⁶ reflect the close relation between religious and social concepts. The *horimu*, or great pantomime, ceremony is related to the cult of the dead and to the desire for successful hunting. The *horimu* shrine "forms a sort of village sanctuary, sometimes used as an assembly-place and so forth in connection with other ceremonies also."¹³⁷ Each of the five totem clans has its ceremonial places. One clan is in special charge of the rites. A heap of leaves (*tara*), of which each clan owns a separate portion, is used for dance decoration; however, none is thrown away, because, in the latter event, luck in harpooning will

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 89 ff.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 108; cf. pp. 269 ff.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, chaps. xxiii ff.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

undoubtedly sink to a very low ebb.¹³⁸ Towards the end of the weeks-long ceremony, the men go out harpooning with confident expectations of an abundant catch.¹³⁹

Another celebration, the *gaera* ceremony, centres about the harvest tree,¹⁴⁰ another is dedicated to turtle-breeding (*nigori*).¹⁴¹ The "most secret, sacred, and awe-inspiring" ceremonies, the *moguru*,¹⁴² include, according to the detailed description of Landtmann, the preparation of life-giving medicine, for the gardens (particularly sago) and for the people themselves, the initiation of the youth, the episode of the wild captured boar, and some minor rites. The "close connection between the ceremonial life of the natives and the work they do for their living is thus demonstrable".¹⁴³ The tie between "ceremonies and work is mutual; the ceremonies also serve to provide favourable medicines for the different labours and undertakings, at least as a side issue".

(e) *Melanesia*.—The inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands,¹⁴⁴ off the eastern end of New Guinea, whose culture has been so brilliantly described in Malinowski's classic monograph, *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, are Melanesians, although they are far superior to their Papuan neighbours in their cultural standards and political and economic organizations. Their major occupation is the cultivation of their very impressive plantations, which grow yams, bananas, coconuts, and taro.¹⁴⁵ The natives, who also do some fishing and have developed trade and industry to a certain degree,¹⁴⁶ are cultivators "by passion and the traditional system of values, not by need only".¹⁴⁷ However, agriculture remains "not merely most important integrally, that is for the tribe as a whole, but it is the main food-producing activity in that everywhere it takes precedence over all other work".¹⁴⁸ Inasmuch as their work is intimately interwoven with magical practices and rites, the Trobriand Islanders are an unusually interesting example of the correlation of occupational and religious attitudes.¹⁴⁹ "Any observer", according to Malinowski,¹⁵⁰ "who has lived, worked, and conversed with the natives would be impressed with

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 345-46.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 388 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic: A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands* (Allen & Unwin, 1935).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 55 ff. Cf. again the paragraph on "work" in Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 209 ff.

¹⁵⁰ *Coral Gardens*, p. 55.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, chap. xxvii.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, chap. xxiv.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

the sheer bulk, complexity, and abundant detail of their gardening occupations and the number of extraneous and supererogatory activities which cluster about thereon." Their social stratification bears resemblances to the Polynesian's, with similar distinctions of rank with their accompanying taboos.¹⁵¹ Malinowski's fascinating monograph aims at giving, as he phrases it, "a theoretical synthesis of all: the meaning and function of magic, the part played by elegance and the aesthetic finish, the relations between the privileges of kinship and the influence of myth".¹⁵²

The Trobriander measures time in accordance with the seasonal phases of gardening. Every main phase—preparing of soil by burning the scrub, tilling and planting,¹⁵³ growing of plants and weeding,¹⁵⁴ and harvesting¹⁵⁵ and storing¹⁵⁶ of the produce—is accompanied by the magical activity (*towosi*).¹⁵⁷ "The magic is done for each village community as a whole; every village, and at times every subdivision of the village, has its own *towosi* and its own system of *towosi* magic, and this is perhaps the main expression of village unity."¹⁵⁸ Magic and practical work are almost inextricably interwoven. Thus a conference in front of the magician's house officially begins the work of gardening. Then follows a discussion of the best time and place for the gardening, followed by the allotment of the available plots of land to the various individuals. An inaugural ceremony comes next. "The *towosi* strikes the ground and strews it with the charmed leaves—acts which symbolize in speech and sentiment the garden magic as a whole."¹⁵⁹ Similar rites precede each of the seasons.¹⁶⁰ The place where the rites are performed is especially well prepared and worked.

The garden magician, theoretically at least, is the head of the kinship group of the village.¹⁶¹ The Trobriander believes that his ancestors have sprung from the soil, "carrying their garden magic with them".¹⁶² The hereditary, mythological, legal, moral, and economic ownership is vested in the person of the garden magician.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33 ff.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 57. Malinowski's analysis of the magical language of the Trobrianders (*ibid.*, Vol. II) is certainly one of the most valuable contributions to this topic which have been attempted in the study of the primitive languages. The recognition of the fact that the language of magic is "sacred, set and used for an entirely different purpose than that of ordinary life" (II, 213) enables the author to investigate and illuminate very brilliantly the meaning, function, and forms of the magic word.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 110 ff.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 137 ff.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 159 ff.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 218 ff.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 341 ff.

Offerings of food accompany his ritual, and he himself is presented with gifts of food. He observes certain food taboos.¹⁶³ Great emphasis is placed on the continuance of the magical tradition. Younger relatives are his assistants. His dignity is much of a burden. He is the garden expert, and, together with the chief of his kinsmen, he supervises and directs the gardening work in every detail.¹⁶⁴ The underlying idea is that, because he controls the forces of fertility, he should also control the work of men. In an interesting chapter Malinowski deals with the "glory of the gardens and its mythological background", in which he discusses the traditional conceptions of the initiation of the garden activity by cultural heroes.¹⁶⁵ It is very significant that the practical and religious contributions of the cultural hero, though closely related, remain distinct and separate entities. The hero taught the most efficient means of cultivation and the necessary charms which could help to induce the most luxurious crop.¹⁶⁶ "The two ways, the way of magic and the way of garden work—*megwa la keda*, *bagula la keda*—are inseparable",¹⁶⁷ but they are never confused. Magic is born of myth; practical work, of empirical theory.¹⁶⁸ Various taboos are observed, sexual intercourse, for instance, being prohibited in and near the gardens,¹⁶⁹ again illustrating the close relation between the religion and the ethics of work.

(f) *American Indians*.—Careful investigation of the lore and customs of the Omaha Indians,¹⁷⁰ who belong with the Pawnee and others to the Sioux Indians, has revealed an extremely interesting picture of the relations between religious concepts, rites, and organization and the social and economic activities. The elaborate and comprehensive scheme which underlies the entire social organization¹⁷¹ is based upon the religious experience of the unity of the all-embracing spirit (Wakonda), which reveals itself in the coexistence of the two great principles, sky above and earth below, which corresponds to the dual division of the people—sky-people (Inshtacunda) and earth-people (Hongashenu). Each contains five gentes. These in turn are characterized by special designations, rites, places, taboos, and names. Since human

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 68 ff.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75 ff.

¹⁷⁰ Alice Cunningham Fletcher and Francis la Fleche, *The Omaha Tribe* (BAE, Vol. XXVII (1905-6)). Cf. also Fortune, *Omaha Secret Societies*, chap. ii.

¹⁷¹ *The Omaha Tribe*, pp. 37 ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

beings, according to their cosmology, are born of the union between the sky-people and the earth-people, it is vitally necessary to preserve the unity of the correlated halves. Each of the two great groups is entrusted with special functions.¹⁷² The earth-people are responsible for the necessary rites and duties concerned with physical welfare.¹⁷³ One of the gentes, the Wezhinshte, is in charge of all ceremonies relating to the warrior as protector of the life and property of the tribe. The "commissary" department, concerned with buffalo-hunting, maize-planting, care of crops, assistance of wind and rain, is in charge of four other gentes. The sky-people are commissioned with the rites pertaining to the creative and directive forces of man's social and individual life. They sanction the activities of the Inshtacunda. "Thus the belief that by union of the sky-people and the earth-people the human race and all other living forms were created and perpetuated was not only symbolized in the organization of the tribe, but this belief was kept vital and continually present in the minds of the people by the rites, the grouping and interrelation of the gentes, and the share given the two great divisions in tribal affairs and ceremonies."¹⁷⁴ Symbols such as the common ball-game and the sacred pipes express this unity. The camping order is interesting: the five gentes of sky-people always camp to the north and the five of the earth-people always to the south.¹⁷⁵

A few more examples will serve to illustrate this co-ordination of activities on a religious basis which is found among the Omaha Indians.¹⁷⁶ Camping at the left of the entrance to the great camping grounds (*huthuga*) were those "through whom the tribe made known its displeasure or anger", the Wezhinshte gens, whose name means "to become angry". After the sacred pipe of the tent of war has been filled by the chief and the herald has proclaimed the decision, this tribe is entrusted with the guardianship over the "sacred tent of war" and performs the rites of war. In their care, also, are the rites of thunder in the spring. The elk is their particular taboo. The Inkecabe, who camp to the left of

¹⁷² The corresponding two groups in the related Winnebago society have, now, primarily the function of marriage, but play their part in the organization of the village including the "chief" feast and in the sacred game (Paul Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe* (BAE, Vol. XXXVII (1915-16)), pp. 35 ff., 187 ff.). On the parallels in Pawnee Society cf. James R. Murie, "Pawnee Indian Societies", *Anthro. Papers*, AMN, XI (1916), 642 ff.

¹⁷³ *The Omaha Tribe*, p. 196.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 137 ff.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 142 ff.; cf. Fortune, *Omaha Secret Societies*, pp. 12 ff.

the Wezhinshte, lead in the pursuit of the buffalo. They also subdivide into two sub-gentes, one of which is symbolized by the token of the red ear of corn because its ancestors were "the people to whom corn is sacred". The cultivation of maize, the second major food product among the Omahas, is also their task, which includes, in addition, guardianship over the sacred pipes.¹⁷⁷ Both subdivisions are responsible for the sacred pole. From the second is chosen the leading hunting office—that of director of the group which is to surround the herd. The tongue and head of the buffalo are its totems. It has already been remarked that the five gentes of the northern half of the Huthuga were custodians of the rites "related to creation, the stars, the cosmic forces that pertain to life".¹⁷⁸ The unity of the whole people is symbolized by sacred emblems, such as the sacred packs, tents, and pipes, which supersede the sacred poles in authority.¹⁷⁹

The social legends of the Omaha, as well as the organization and characterization of the tribal divisions, reflect the important changes which took place when the maize, the staff of life, became subordinate to the buffalo. In this connection it is interesting to observe that the Winnebago, another Sioux tribe, according to a recent explorer¹⁸⁰ "exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the foundation of a clan for the old animal names" and so much so that "a large number of warriors would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same".¹⁸¹ Aside from the historical problem of origins which the various changes have created, we see in these examples the clear relation among professional activities, cult, and general social organization.¹⁸²

The intimate relation between activities which are directed at the securing of food and religious concepts, which so startled some observers¹⁸³ ("according to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of economic value to him"),¹⁸⁴ is not at all secondary but is the result of original religious experiences, however much obscured they may have become in later development.

(g) *South Africa*.—The Bavenda, of northern Transvaal,¹⁸⁵ a

¹⁷⁷ *The Omaha Tribe*, pp. 261 ff.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 217 ff.

¹⁸⁰ Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe*, p. 49.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 182–83.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, chap. viii.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

¹⁸⁵ Hugh Arthur Stait, *The Bavenda* ("Publications for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures" (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1931)).

group of Bantu people of South Africa, regard the cattle as a source of wealth and not as a means of livelihood and subsist entirely on agriculture.¹⁸⁶ The handicrafts—pottery, wool, and metalwork—are in the hands of trained specialists. Warfare and hunting are the privileges of the Bavenda men, and both are connected with interesting taboos.¹⁸⁷ Their great god, a typical African *deus otiosus*, is approached only in times of great emergency, such as a drought.¹⁸⁸ Other spirits, particularly those of the ancestors, are much more important. They are often incorporated in animals. "Many important lineages possess a black bull, which is called Makhuten (grandfather) and is regarded as the embodiment of all the ancestral spirits. At the harvest festival it is solemnly killed."¹⁸⁹ The spirits of the Makruel lineage are represented by a black female goat, which is "first and foremost the mother's mother, but is also the embodiment of all the mother's ancestors in the female line". This goat "can only be held by children of either sex in the female line—the diviner indicates which grandchild within the group is to care for the goat; this person is then considered to be specially associated with the mother's ancestors and performs all religious ceremonies concerning these matrilinear spirits".¹⁹⁰ The spirits of the female ancestor are feared much more than are the patrilinear ones. After death a man is represented by a sacred spear, a woman by an iron or copper ring. They are consecrated in solemn ceremony. "The official holding the calabash of beer goes up to where the spear is lying and says: 'Here is your grandchild; we have given him both to you. Do not worry us.'"¹⁹¹ Such sacred emblems are highly venerated. The two main occasions on which the ancestor spirits are voluntarily approached with rites of supplication are, significantly enough, before sowing and before reaping.¹⁹² The constant, all-absorbing problem is the sufficiency of rainfall.¹⁹³ No python is allowed to be killed with the fall of rain, a fact which indicates their close relation in the minds of the Baronga. Head and tail of the snake are buried to ensure fertility of the cattle. Its skin is worn about the waist of a bony woman to induce pregnancy.

(h) *West Africa*.—The Yoruba, a Sudanese tribe in southern

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 79 ff.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 230 ff., 310 ff.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 252 ff., 313 ff.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 309 ff.

Nigeria,¹⁹⁴ has caught the attention of students¹⁹⁵ because of the interesting analogies between its civilization, societal organization, and religion and those of the ancient Mediterranean world. We are here concerned with the relations between the occupational activity and religious custom, thought, and order in this Sudanese civilization,¹⁹⁶ which may be regarded as typical of conditions in a wide area of the Black Continent. As of other African tribes, it has been said that "the Southern Nigeria native is a deeply religious being".¹⁹⁷

Among occupations in southern Nigeria, farming and hunting predominate, trading and crafts following in importance.¹⁹⁸ We shall concentrate our attention on the part played by metal production and its effects on the religious system of this people.¹⁹⁹ Iron seems to have been worked in Nigeria from earliest times, and it has been suggested that the world is under obligation to the Negro for initially developing this art.²⁰⁰ Working in bronze, perhaps taken over from Egypt, was possibly introduced into Nigeria by the Yoruba in the course of extensive migrations during the second millennium B.C.²⁰¹ Pottery and ironwork have since been important factors in the culture developed at Ile Ife, originally the capital and ever since the holy city of the Yoruba country. These crafts were fostered by the semi-white invaders, who also introduced the political, social, and cultural system of the country and so developed the high craftsmanship of the Yoruba and later Benin empire, with its "extraordinarily fine bronze and brass work, the art of chiselling on brass and pottery, carving in wood and ivory".²⁰² According to Talbot, the art was long confined to a priestly craft at Ile Ife. When the capital was transferred to Oyo, the *awni* of Ife became the religious head

¹⁹⁴ Percy Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria: A Sketch of Their History, Ethnology and Languages* (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford) 1926), Vols. I-III. For a general orientation see Wilfrid D. Hambly, "Cultural Areas of Nigeria" (*FMNH*, Pub. No. 346, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (Chicago, 1935)). The history of the Oyo Province is traced by Talbot, *op. cit.*, I, 276 ff., and Hambly, *Source-Book*, pp. 390 ff.

¹⁹⁵ Leo Frobenius has given an interesting account of their religion ("Die atlantische Götterlehre", in *Atlantis* (Jena: Eugen Diederich), Vol. X (1926)), though intermingling his report with all kinds of daring theories (relation to "Atlantis", Etrurian religion, etc.).

¹⁹⁶ On African culture areas in general cf. Hambly, *Source-Book*, esp. pp. 325 ff., 586 ff., 541 ff.

¹⁹⁷ Talbot, *op. cit.*, II, 27.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 904 ff.

¹⁹⁹ On specialization on ironwork in Africa in general cf. Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe*, pp. 45 ff. He emphasizes the "mystical" relation of the worker to his work (pp. 73 ff.).

²⁰⁰ Talbot, *op. cit.*, I, 17.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 277.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, chap. i.

of the state, and the political power shifted to the family of Odu-
dua, a usurper who was later deified.²⁰³

The elaborate political and religious organization of the Yoruba state was supposedly influenced from the east and north. Worship of ancestors and of some miscellaneous higher deities, usually a god-father and an earth-goddess mother, plus minor figures, is said to be the outstanding feature in the Nigerian religion. The Yoruba, latest of the immigrants, have the most comprehensive pantheon.²⁰⁴ Deities of fertility and vegetation appear to have preceded the solar gods (the characteristic lightning-god), and certain deified heroes lent their names to outstanding Yoruba deities, such as Odudua, the earth, Shango, the lightning, and Ifa, the god of divination.²⁰⁵ These deities are represented by symbols.²⁰⁶ "Each (individual) is consecrated to the service of a particular deity, from whom an emanation is supposed to enter its presentment, either for the whole time during which its worship is maintained or at the actual moment the service takes place."²⁰⁷ The adherents of each *orisha*, or deity, follow exogamic totemistic rules.²⁰⁸

It is interesting to note how the activities of the people are reflected in the pantheon. Under Awlawrun, Lord of the Sky, is pictured, with innumerable eyes, the hierarchy of the *orisha* who "administer the various departments of nature and mediate between mankind and the supreme god". One of the most characteristic of these function-gods (*orisha*) is Shango, the lightning-god, perhaps an apotheosised hero of solar character living in a radiant brazen palace. Sacred dances are performed in his honour at the beginning of the tornado season.²⁰⁹ Many minor *jamu* are worshipped.²¹⁰

A lesser *orisha* is Ogun, the patron of blacksmiths, hunters, war-

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 278-79. That it was from Ife, not through Europeans (Portuguese), that bronze-working was introduced to Benin is exhaustively shown (p. 280). Cf. Frobenius, *Götterlehre*, chap. vi.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 14 ff., 29 ff.; Frobenius, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff., esp. 119 ff. Learned Yoruba knew of six hundred deities, two hundred of them worshipped towards the right, four hundred towards the left (p. 156).

²⁰⁵ On the very interesting divination system of the Ife, connected with Edshu, cf. Frobenius, *op. cit.*, chap. ix.

²⁰⁶ Talbot, *op. cit.*, II, 319.

²⁰⁷ Frobenius, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff., 76 ff., on the individual and collective *orisha* (deities).

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42; cf. there, pp. 49 ff., on the *oro* league, and pp. 55, on the women's league.

²⁰⁹ Talbot, *op. cit.*, II, 31 ff.; Frobenius, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff., on the ceremonial and legends of the Omo-Shango.

²¹⁰ Talbot, *op. cit.*, II, 75 ff.; Frobenius, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.

riors, and snake-charmers. Among his symbols, characteristically enough, is a piece of iron.²¹¹ He is worshipped by all handicraftsmen, thus forming a special group.²¹² Of the various agricultural deities, Oko (farm) might be mentioned, represented by an iron rod and an ivory flute.²¹³ Iron in any form is considered a protection against the influences of evil spirits,²¹⁴ for it is the main material of the Yoruba metal workers, notwithstanding the recent decline in their industry caused by the use of imported metals.²¹⁵ Brass, copper, and tin play a lesser part. The chief of the smiths is "always invited to the meetings of the council".²¹⁶

Hambly, in his survey of culture areas of Nigeria, points to the importance of ritual and prohibition in connection with the craft of the smiths.²¹⁷ "The social position of the smiths is always a point of interest in studying social habits and status."²¹⁸ The blacksmiths form what is practically a caste. They do not inter-marry and have special initiation ceremonies for apprentices. They speak a special language. "Ritual centres in building the furnace, smelting the iron, and consecrating the tools."²¹⁹ This author recalls having seen at Ife a sacred grave with two large stones, supposedly the hammer and anvil of the first blacksmith, Ogun, who is the patron of craft and god of war.²²⁰ Dog sacrifices belong to this rite.²²¹

(i) *East Africa*.—The Masai of East Africa²²² differ from the surrounding Bantu tribes in language, custom, and appearance.²²³ They resemble some related tribes in maintaining a military

²¹¹ Talbot, *op. cit.*, II, 88.

²¹² Frobenius, *op. cit.*, p. 48, esp. pp. 143 ff. Cf. there on the prayer to Ogun with which the smith begins his work.

²¹³ Talbot, *op. cit.*, II, 89.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 924 ff.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 925.

²¹⁷ Hambly, "Cultural Areas of Nigeria", pp. 403-4, 407 ff.; cf. also *Source-Book*, pp. 613 ff.

²¹⁸ Albert Galloway Keller, *Homer's Society: A Sociological Study of the Iliad and Odyssey* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902), p. 272; Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe*, pp. 75 ff.; Thurnwald, *Economics*, p. 115.

²¹⁹ Hambly, *Source-Book*, p. 407.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 407-8, 449.

²²¹ On the ritual connected with the craft of blacksmith among the Ovimbundu (Benguela highlands) cf. W. Hambly, "Occupational Ritual", *AA*, XXXVI (1934), 157 ff., 163. On the taboo on the smiths in East Africa see Alfred Claud Hollis, *The Masai: Their Language and Folklore* (London: Oxford University Press, 1905), pp. 330-31, and Hambly, *Source-Book*, pp. 642-43 ("workers in iron form a separate caste, with their own rites, occupations, and, in some instances, language"). On the West African Pangwe see Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 128 ff. (special families and "medicines").

²²² Hollis, *op. cit.*, Introd. (by C. Ellis). Cf. also M. Merker, *Die Masai: Ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes* (2nd ed.; Berlin: D. Reimer, 1910), esp. chaps. viii, ix, xxi.

²²³ Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

organization in which all men approximately between the ages of seventeen and thirty form a special warrior group.²²⁴ The Masai are divided into an agricultural settled group and a pastoral nomadic group.²²⁵ The conflict between the two, which resulted in a victory of the pastoral group, is of the greatest importance in Masai history.²²⁶ Among these people the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. Circumcision marks the transition from the first to the second stage.²²⁷ Those circumcised in the same period are collectively known as the "White Swords" or the "Invisibles".²²⁸ Toward the end of his twenties, the warrior marries and may now become a chief responsible for discipline.²²⁹ The military *élite* is the ruling class. The result is a state dissimilar to the Western African monarchies in its lack of centralized power and authority. The *laibon*, or medicine man, the spiritual leader, is the only central figure.²³⁰ Ellis says rightly: "It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities especially developed by the Masai."²³¹ The Masai religion is very vague. The *eng-ai* (deity) may be personal or impersonal. Two groups of deities are known: the black or friendly and the red or malevolent. The red god constantly but vainly attempts to descend to earth to kill people, but is prevented by the black god. Prayers, chiefly for children, rain, and victory, are addressed to all gods.²³²

5. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND RELIGION

The question arises: How does social differentiation in all its forms affect religion? In the first place, we must re-emphasize the fact that it is objective religion which is influenced by social differences such as occupation, rank, and property. These differences do not immediately affect subjective religion. In

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xiv. "But the Negro, with the exception of the Zulu, has not developed such a thorough, permanent and detailed military system as that which is typical of the Hamitic Masai" (Hambly, "Cultural Areas", *op. cit.*, p. 453). Cf. also William S. Ferguson, *The Zulus and the Spartans: A Comparison of Their Military Systems* ("Harvard African Studies", Vol. II (Cambridge, Mass., 1918)), pp. 197 ff.

²²⁵ Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 294 ff.; Merker, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.

²²⁸ Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xvii, 302-3.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 324 ff.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. xx.

²³² *Ibid.*, pp. xviii-xix; Merker, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 ff. Cf. there the Masai concept of the "chosen people".

other words, two individuals living in the same era and civilization, and in the same religious community, yet differing in profession, rank, or wealth, may have similar experiences of the holy and still express their faith differently, worship differently, and belong to different types of religious association.

Religious experience, being fundamental, constitutes the basis for communion of a most intimate character, boring deep into the bedrock of impulses, emotions, and thoughts which are common to all men. This subjective religion has at all times proved potent enough to unite and integrate people who are otherwise widely separated by differences in descent, profession, wealth, or rank. A study of the social status of those who followed the prophets, teachers, and founders of religions will reveal the surprising social heterogeneity of the motley groups who became as one when united in a common religious experience. It is not necessary that the objectification and formulation of this experience should lead to division and separation, but undeniably greater leeway for such differences is offered by an articulation of the expression of religious experience. However, individual and collective reactions to the process of religious growth vary.

At first blush we notice a definite influence of social differentiation and stratification upon the expression of religious experience. A harmony obtains between the social position of the more humble folk and the simplicity of their faith and worship, while the well-to-do are inclined in like manner to sponsor more elaborate ritual and more costly demonstrations of their devotion. These conclusions, however, like most generalizations, deserve to be taken *cum grano salis*. Puritanic motives may restrain and limit display and ritual beyond what is considered essential, or perhaps even just, in aristocratic circles; while the poorer peasant population and the underprivileged classes in all religions frequently have been known to insist not only on unusually meticulous fulfilment of the minutiae of ritual prescriptions and proscriptions but also on as lavish a service to the deity as they can possibly afford.

In the second place, social differentiation may cause varied emphases on particular ideas and rites in the traditional expression of religious experience. Scholars here find a fertile field, with ripe illustrations for every possibility. The more a society advances culturally and the more stratified it becomes, all the more do the various professional, economic, and social groups tend to stress the worship of their preferred numina, with its

attendant rites and devotional practices.' The active and belligerent character of the dominant warrior class in Aztec society deeply colours the concepts of Mexican mythology and ritual. The influence of scholarly interests is clearly traceable in the theologies of religions as different as Judaism, Parsiism, Brahmanism, Manichaeism, and Confucianism. The military character of the Japanese samurai is reflected in the reinterpreted Buddhistic theology, cult, and organization. Western medieval feudalism developed a characteristic type of veneration of the Virgin Mary and gave rise to the peculiar organization of religious orders of knights. In many expressions of piety of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries we sense the keen influence and even the language of the artisans and petty bourgeois, as in some groups of Dissenters in England and the Pietists in Germany.²³³

As certain features develop within traditional religion, owing to the influence of particular social groups, other features in theology, cult, and organization tend to be abandoned or revamped. In the course of time Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism have all given rise to movements supported by more or less well-defined and homogeneous groups which have striven to reorganize the religious community and to eliminate teachings and usages which were considered superfluous, wrong, or even harmful. The *rationalist* protest of learned and scholarly dissenters, represented in Christianity by Humanism,²³⁴ Enlightenment, Unitarianism;²³⁵ in Judaism by Karaism;²³⁶ in Islam by the Mutazila; and in Buddhism by some branches of the Mahayana, aimed at correcting certain doctrinal statements. The "modernist" movement in all the great religious bodies expresses the same tendency in the name of the "progressive", educated intelligentsia.²³⁷ The counterpart of this tendency is represented by movements among

²³³ Cf. Max Weber, *W. und G.*, par. 7: "Stände, Klassen und Religionen"; Helmut Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), esp. chap. iv: "The Churches of the Middle Class".

²³⁴ Much material in Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften* (3rd ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1921), Vol. II; Erich Seeberg, *Gottfried Arnold, Die Wissenschaft und Mystik seiner Zeit* (Meerane i. Sa.: E. R. Herzog, 1923), esp. chap. v, 2; Johannes Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung* (Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1923), chap. vi.

²³⁵ Olive M. Griffiths, *Religion and Learning: A Study in English Presbyterian Thought from the Bartholomew Ejections (1662) to the Foundation of the Unitarian Movement* (Cambridge University Press, 1935), gives an interesting example, which traces the impact of modern thought on this protestant body (from Calvinism to Unitarianism).

²³⁶ Baron, *History of the Jews*, pp. 302 ff., pp. 346 ff. ("Intellectualization of Jewish Life").

²³⁷ On Modernism in Mohammedanism cf. Charles Clarence Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement inaugurated by Muhammad*

the "disinherited"—the less educated and those of lower cultural and economic status.²³⁸ The leaders and mouthpieces of these movements frequently belong to the first group; yet that is not always the case. In distinction from trends among the educated, religious grouping among the less privileged is characterized by emotional fervour frequently coupled with anti-intellectualism (cf. below, sec. 8). In any case, there is no doubt that the development of protesting groups, whether reformist, heretical, or sectarian, is often encouraged by the needs, claims, and demands of professional, economic, or social groups.²³⁹

Max Weber discusses the question of what specific purposes were served by the various religions in the different social strata ("was Religionen den verschiedenen sozialen Schichten leisten mussten").²⁴⁰ He admits that the need for redemption (*Erlösungsbedürfnis*) is an expression of a specific need or kind of suffering, but maintains rightly that these do not always possess a social or economic character, though the latter is more often than not the case. According to Weber, all too frequently the economically privileged groups, which by virtue of their position are least inclined to feel a need for redemption, look to religion to "legitimize" their position and justify their conduct. It seems advisable to this writer, however, to differentiate between the conscious, systematic, demagogic type of religious programme based on social consideration and the less definite, tenuous, and undeliberate relations which can be found existing between a religious ideal and a social group.

The question thus remains of how far there is not only an objective similarity of position and destiny among individuals of similar social economic and professional status but also a subjective feeling of religious solidarity and kinship. The dividing-lines of

Abduh (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1933); Dwight M. Donaldson, "Intellectual Awakening in Modern Iran", *IRM*, XXV (1936), 172 ff.; Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1934); William Thomson, "The Renaissance of Islam", *HTHR*, XXX (1927), 51 ff.; Titus, *Indian Islam*, chap. ix.

²³⁸ Richard Henry Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study* (London: J. Murray, 1926); Niebuhr, *Sources*, p. 30; Sydney George Dimond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival* (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1926), pp. 118 ff.; Robert F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Working-Class Movement of England, 1800-1850* (London: Epworth Press, 1937), esp. pp. 271 ff.

²³⁹ Elmer T. Clark, presenting the most up-to-date investigation of such religious movements and groups in the United States (*The Small Sects in America* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1937)), views the development and appeal of the lesser sects of contemporary America as "refuges" for the poor and "emotionally starved" (chaps. i, viii). For the Negro cults cf. works cited below in nn. 527-33.

²⁴⁰ Weber, *W. und G.*, pp. 281-82.

the latter frequently fail to coincide with the vertical divisions of the former; thus the attitude of a hereditary nobility towards religion will be more uniform than would be expected from the inequality of the economic positions and difference of occupations among its members. Continental Pietism of the seventeenth century exhibits a feeling of solidarity embracing all its socially and economically highly diversified groups. Although the feeling of class solidarity has at least superficially replaced that of religious solidarity in modern Europe, America, and some parts of the Orient, the example of the Roman Catholic church, which is neither a rich nor a poor man's church, indicates the danger in hasty generalization. Modern civilization, with its enormously increased differentiation and the resulting alienation of social strata, offers unlimited material for these studies.²⁴¹

6. SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES; OCCUPATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Just as long as the various strata which make up society are united by some common denominator of interests or ideas, major changes will not take place. Should this unifying force, however, be wholly or partly abrogated, disintegration will take place, to be followed by peaceful or bloody revolution. With the growing complexity of our social structure, changes, often radical, become more frequent. The histories of less advanced cultures are made up of struggles and competition between individual leaders and personal groups (*élites*). Under more complex circumstances we find that individuals do not stand alone, but are united with others through common occupational, cultural, and economic interests, and these dominating groups are often inclined to insist on representing the whole of society. Thus each group tends to develop its own sense of solidarity within the larger community, the people, the state, or the nation, and may eventually completely vitiate the solidarity of this larger unit.

We shall concentrate our attention in the following pages on a type of grouping which has not been dealt with heretofore—the *association*. The association differs from the types already described in that it arises through conscious planning. It is formed *ad hoc* to encourage and advance the interests of specific groups within society.

²⁴¹ For a study of types of associations, religious and non-religious, in a modern, culturally (United States), ethnically (Negro), regionally (urban), and socially (lower strata) determined group cf. St. Clair Drake, *Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community* ("Report of Official Project, Work Projects Administration" No. 465-3-386 (Chicago, 1940)), esp. chap. i for methodological discussion.

The monumental contribution to the study of the association has been the historical work of Otto von Gierke.²⁴² Gierke views the historical development of associations as an important factor in the struggle for unity and "freedom". According to him, the Germanic peoples have the *Gabe der Genossenschaftsbildung* ("gift of association") to a particularly high degree—a contention which has not gone unchallenged.²⁴³

Associations of all kinds and purposes tend to establish themselves in society. They occur even in less complex cultures, as Lowie has shown so well.²⁴⁴ However, only a small number of the so-called "associations" of the primitive peoples would qualify in the sense in which we define the association. A good example are the guilds of proficient tanners and porcupine-quill embroiderers of the Cheyenne and Dakota Indians, mentioned by Lowie. Sometimes the state organizes age groups for military and other purposes, such as the Epheboi as opposed to the Neoi in Greece. Those would fall under the type of group which we have examined previously (chap. iv, sec. 7).

Both primitive and sophisticated peoples create associations to foster material or ideal economic, social, and cultural aims.²⁴⁵ It has been justly remarked that, whereas attitudes prompted divisions of other types of groupings, "it is in terms of interest rather than of attitudes that we can explain the formation and maintenance of associations".²⁴⁶ These interests, whether political, economic, or cultural, can best be furthered by organizations which can devote all their efforts to that end.²⁴⁷ There are pure

²⁴² Otto von Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1868 ff., 1913), and *Das Wesen der menschlichen Verbände* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1902). Cf. also the valuable comment by Ernest Barker, in his English rendering of important sections of Gierke's book as: *Natural Law and the Theory of Society* (1500-1800) (Cambridge University Press, 1934), and in "Maitland as a Sociologist", in *The Citizen's Choice* (Cambridge University Press, 1937), chap. ix. Cf. above, chap. i, and also "Association" (art.), in *ESS*, II, 284 ff.; "Guilds" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 204 ff.

²⁴³ For criticism, cf. Barker, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society*, Introduction, and esp. chaps. xxvi ff.

²⁴⁴ Lowie, *Origin of the State*, chap. v. See also Wissler, *Societies of the Plains Indians*, with much material, but not enough differentiation between different types of groups. Cf. also above, chap. iv, sec. 7.

²⁴⁵ Cf., for rural associations, Pitirim A. Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Oxford University Press, 1930-32), Vol. I, chap. vi.

²⁴⁶ MacIver, *Society*, p. 252.

²⁴⁷ Cf. "Pluralism" (art.), in *ESS*, XII, 170 ff., and bibliography there on legal and sociological history of corporations and associations and résumé of the pluralist theory. Cf. also Henry Meyer Magid, *English Political Pluralism: The Problem of Freedom and Organization* ("Columbia Studies in Philosophy", No. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941)).

and mixed types of associations, of which the latter are more common. Economic, political, and cultural activities are closely related and are interdependent. The acquisition and control of wealth imply the use of political means, the attainment and control of order and power may lead to economic regulation, and both are closely related to the achievement of cultural aims. We shall pause to illustrate this point.

(a) *Africa*.—Associations based on occupations have developed in African society²⁴⁸ despite the great differences in material, cultural, and social conditions prevailing in the various areas and cultures.²⁴⁹ Collective gentile and local specialization²⁵⁰ apparently preceded individual initiative. This process seems frequently to have been a result of political activity. An original and a derived type of collective specialization can be discerned,²⁵¹ the latter caused by conquest and ethnic factors. Such occupational differentiation plays a great part among the peoples of Sudan. Schurtz reports of the Fulbe (Sudan)²⁵² that their subtribes are regarded as descendants of various brothers: the most noble from the youngest and cleverest brother (the Diavandus); the learned, including the judges, from the oldest (the Torodos); and the iron-workers (Bailos), the warriors and the hunters (Trapatos), and the fishermen (Triebalus) from the other brothers. This mythological concept recalls to mind the Indian and Teutonic mythical justification of differences in status and organization which we find in the laws of Manu and in the Edda. According to Rigsmal, the god Heimdall creates the different statuses: the bondsman, chieftain, and freeman.²⁵³

The exchange of the products of specialized work is of great significance in the economic and social structure of primitive society. In Africa there are associations of individuals who specialize in certain occupations²⁵⁴ such as slavery, music, dancing,

²⁴⁸ Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe*.

²⁴⁹ Hambly, *Source-Book*, pp. 613 ff., 498 ff.

²⁵⁰ The interpenetration of both is discussed by Schurtz, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 ff.

²⁵¹ Fishing, salt production, and ferry service are considered as some elementary activities leading to tribal specialization in Africa (*ibid.*, pp. 31 ff.). For highly specialized activities see *ibid.*, pp. 84 ff.

²⁵² Cf. the long list of handicraft organizations of people of foreign origin created in the Sudan States and of "Paria" tribes of migratory character adopting special occupations (*ibid.*, p. 3).

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31. Cf. V. Grönbech, "Die Germanen", in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, II, 591.

²⁵⁴ It is significant that the smiths frequently fulfil priestly duties (Schurtz, *op. cit.*, p. 83).

and handicraft-working.²⁵⁵ These associations arose to meet the requirements of the courts of African despots and were supervised by appointees of the "state".²⁵⁶ The "sultan of the smiths" in Haussa and Manda Wadai is of special interest. He enjoyed royal privileges at court, was expected to be versed in the Koran, and collected the taxes for the king.²⁵⁷

Dahomey, another interesting African society,²⁵⁸ was ruled by despotic monarchs, whose careers are known from the seventeenth century until 1892, when the French took over the government. The rule of the Aladoxonu dynasty presents the typical aspect of an African conqueror-state. From a recent thorough analysis of Dahomey,²⁵⁹ we learn that, although indigenous secret societies never developed,²⁶⁰ three types of associations are found.²⁶¹ The first is a type of mutual aid society which helps to meet expenses for marriages, funerals, and like ceremonies and expedites social intercourse and various types of work.²⁶² The second and third types of associations are imported, foreign secret groups existing clandestinely in the periphery of the kingdom during the time of despotic rule and more recently in the capital. One co-operative institution of unusual interest has been classified under the first type, but deserves special attention because of its comprehensive character.²⁶³

It seems that all Dahomeans are expected to work.²⁶⁴ There is specialization of industry and craft, just as in all West African societies,²⁶⁵ so that a hierarchy of occupation has developed; nevertheless, in certain basic activities, such as farming, house-building, tool- and weapon-making, everyone is expected to participate.²⁶⁶ An organization is set up to ensure this co-operation, and a very efficient and well-organized organization it is. To some extent it is an age group. All the young without exception belong, and to-day the elder men join in the work. Age groups as such do not exist.²⁶⁷ The work unit is the so-called *dokpwe*, which consists of small groups of four or more members supervised

²⁵⁵ In a paragraph on "Official Exchange" ("Economic Organization", in Boas (ed.), *General Anthropology*, pp. 387 ff.) Ruth Bunzel gives examples of such in a great many primitive societies.

²⁵⁶ Cf. below, chap. vii, on primitive states.

²⁵⁷ Schurtz, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.

²⁵⁸ Melville Jean Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938).

²⁵⁹ For chronology see *ibid.*, pp. 11 ff.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-43.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 243 ff.

²⁶² That, however, is more theory than practice (*ibid.*, p. 96 and chap. vi).

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, chap. ii and pp. 40 ff. (hunting); pp. 44 ff. (crafts: iron, weaving, pottery).

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 63 ff.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 250 ff.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. iv.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

by a hereditary foreman (*dokpwega*) to whom is rendered strict obedience in all things non-political.²⁶⁸ This kind of work is very popular, being considered a pleasure rather than a duty and justifying Thurnwald's statement that "the solidarity of the group which is a necessary requirement for its existence is strengthened by mutual aid and the exchange of services".²⁶⁹ Inasmuch as all work is preceded by rites, "the bearing of these organizations on the cult is considerable".²⁷⁰ The site for a field to be laid out by common work is determined by augury, the proper spirit is identified, libations are offered, and other ceremonies are performed with the assistance of the priesthood.²⁷¹ A typical stratification of a more highly developed African society is offered by the Dahomean state during the period of independent monarchy. There are four classes: the slaves, mostly captives; the farmers and artisans, "backbone of the Dahomean state"; the soldiers and officials; and, finally, the ruling class, which includes the king, the royal princes, and the high priest.²⁷²

In Egypt, from ancient days, professional groups placed themselves under the protection of favourite deities: the physicians under Thoth and Sahmet, the artisans under Ptah, the officials (scribes) under Thoth and, later, Imhotep.²⁷³ Egyptian handicraftsmen were well organized.

The Greeks, whose various associations have been thoroughly explored and described,²⁷⁴ were organized in industrial and

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. iv. The solemn introduction into office takes place in presence of the king (p. 66).

²⁶⁹ Thurnwald, *Economics*, p. 211.

²⁷⁰ Herskovits, *Dahomey*, pp. 31 ff.

²⁷¹ The whole procedure is of the type which is so well illustrated by Malinowski's Trobrianders and other "primitives".

²⁷² Herskovits, *Dahomey*, chap. vi: "Socio-economic Classes in Dahomean Society".

²⁷³ Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, pp. 56 ff., 326; Hermann Kees, "Ägypten", in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Walter Otto (München: C. H. Beck, 1933), Sec. III, Part I, sec. 3), pp. 162 ff. Cf. there (p. 168) on the cultic character of the handicraft association at the Necropolis of Thebes in the Ramesside period, which was united by worship of King Amenophis I. The participation in religious processions is typical.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Franz Poland's examination of the Greek associations of this type (*Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*): guilds of merchants (pp. 106 ff.), handicraft (pp. 116 ff.), soldiers (pp. 127 ff.), artists (pp. 129 ff.), athletes (pp. 147 ff.). The latter two show less of a decline of the cultic interest than the former (pp. 173 ff.). See also Georg Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* (München: C. H. Beck, 1920), pp. 192 ff.; "Koinon" and "Berufsvereine" (arts.), in *PWRE*, *Suppl.*, IV, 915 ff. and 155 ff.

For the associations in which the "erastistic" element prevails, cf. Poland, *Vereinswesen*, pp. 28 ff., 55 ff. Not only the *eranos* proper, but, particularly in later times, other types of groups, including the cultic, were more or less interested in the cultivation of social life ("good time"). The guild of Zeus Hypsistos, to which Roberts, T. C. Skeat, and Arthur Nock recently devoted an interesting study ("The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos", *HThR*, XXIX (1936), 39 ff.), would have to be classified among the associations discussed in our chap. v.

professional groups, which, however, were less significant than their Roman counterparts.²⁷⁵ There is some truth in the rather sweeping statement of one student that a lasting association of people based only on the common benefit to be derived from commercial enterprises, etc., would have been contrary to the religious sense of the Greeks. Only by religious interests could they be bound permanently.²⁷⁶ Analogous organizations in Hellenistic Egypt²⁷⁷ continued to maintain the old Egyptian with the new Greek worship: Ptah of Memphis was worshipped as the protector of the Egyptian artisans; Thoth and Sahmet, as the protectors of the doctors. We know of many commercial, handicraft, and military associations of this period, for instance, the *hoi apo tou gomou*, including all the workers in the Nubian stone mines irrespective of rank and status, worshipping Isis and some other deities in special assemblies and houses, and with processions. Not all, however, seem to have cultic significance; and, in contradistinction to the Greek associations, they were organized according to districts, not according to towns and villages.²⁷⁸ The merchant guilds of Babylonia and Assyria have been studied only recently.²⁷⁹ The trade guilds of the cities of Asia Minor formed the only important division in the population of the town, owing to the absence of tribal differentiation;²⁸⁰ we find in Anatolia a continuous development from Greek and Roman to Mohammedan times of the professional type of association.

The Chinese and Koreans²⁸¹ have always been particularly fond of forming associations. A recent monograph states: "Le Chinois—il faut le dire—a une véritable vocation pour la solidarité sociale: il est né congréganiste, voué au syndical, passionné pour la mutualité. Par sa famille, par son origine, par sa profession, par ses idées politiques, par son concept religieux, en un mot dans toute sa vie privée ou publique, le Chinois est un

²⁷⁵ On the *technitai* Dionysou, their cult, *temenos*, hearth and altar, their priesthood and their influence, cf. Farnell, *The Cults of Greek Cities*, V, 146. Cf. also below, n. 278.

²⁷⁶ Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1896), p. 13.

²⁷⁷ Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, pp. 25, 58; Walter G. A. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905-8).

²⁷⁸ Otto, *op. cit.*, I, 128 ff.; Mariano San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer* (München: C. H. Beck, 1913 ff.), chaps. iii, iv; cf. *ibid.*, II, 6 ff., on individual leadership; pp. 57, 67 ff., on the *hierous*.

²⁷⁹ I. Mendelsohn, "Guilds in Babylonia and Assyria", *JAOS*, LX (1940), 68 ff.

²⁸⁰ William Mitchell Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895 ff.) (cited hereafter as "Ramsay, *Cities of Phrygia*"), I, 105 ff.; cf. also, *ibid.*, pp. 97 ff.

²⁸¹ "The Village Guilds of Korea", *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913, pp. 13-14 (no author name).

mutualiste.”²⁸² The ubiquitous presence of patron saints in the Chinese guilds has led some authors to credit the guilds with religious origins.²⁸³ In the history of Japan trade associations had in the earlier days definitely a cultic basis, as the development of the *za* clearly shows. According to good authority,²⁸⁴ it served first cultic purposes and, in the second place, business and politics. “It is not unnatural, then, that our *za* had its origin in the service to a god.” The growth of the *za* follows the growth of the city. With the Tokugawa era the secularization of the guilds (*kabu* privilege) becomes apparent.²⁸⁵ The Hindus also produced organizations similar to craft and merchant guilds, to which we have reference as early as the laws of Manu. They “flourished throughout the country and attained a position of the utmost importance, socially, economically, as well as politically.”²⁸⁶ They were closely connected with the caste system and involved hereditary occupations.²⁸⁷ “The guilds”, we are informed, “always had a religious basis; the spiritual and economic functions were considered in the same institution. In many cases, the castes have been and are still coterminous with guilds; nevertheless, the connection between caste and trade associations has never been complete or universal.”²⁸⁸

(b) *Rome*.—In ancient Rome associations played an even greater role.²⁸⁹ The new groups which arose in the Roman state were different from the natural groups (family, gens) which they

²⁸² Cf. Paul d'Enjoy, “Associations, congrégations, et sociétés secrètes chinoises”, *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, V (1904), 373 ff. The author also analyses the organizations of the merchants, etc., coming from the same home province (congregations) and the secret societies and their political and religious significance. Cf. Granet, *Chinese Civilization*, pp. 194 ff., and *ERE*, XI, 287 ff.; *ESS*, VII, 219 ff. Cf. also Latourette, *The Chinese*, II, 86 ff.; Douglas, *Chinese Society*, pp. 142 ff.

²⁸³ *ESS*, VII, 219. Cf. John Heron Lepper, *Famous Secret Societies* (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., 1932), chap. xxxvii.

²⁸⁴ Yosaburo Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of Civilization of Japan*, (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1930), I, 234 ff., 358 ff.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 449 ff.; III, 242 ff.

²⁸⁶ Fick, *Soziale Gliederung*, chap. x; Radhakamal Mukerjee, “Caste and Social Change in India”, *AJS*, XLIV (1937-38), 377 ff.; R. P. Masani, “Caste and Structure of Society”, in *Legacy of India*, pp. 154 ff. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History of India*, I, 206, 408.

²⁸⁷ Ghurye, *Caste and Race*, pp. 15 ff., and above, sec. 2. On this relation cf. also *Cambridge Ancient History of India*, I, 479. Cf., on Hindu guilds, also Weber, *G.A.*, II, 93 ff., and p. 97 on the organization of Masons.

²⁸⁸ “Indian Guilds” (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 216 ff. Cf. Mukerjee, “Caste and Social Change in India”, *op. cit.*, pp. 377 ff., and *Man and His Habitation*, esp. pp. 235 ff.

²⁸⁹ Classical monographs: Theodor Mommsen, *De collegiis et sodaliciis Romanorum* (Kiliae: Libr. Schwersiana, 1843); Wissowa, *Religion der Römer* (München: C. H. Beck, 1912), esp. 334 ff.; Ernst Kornemann, “Collegium” and “Sodalitas” (arts.), in *PWRE*, IV, 379 ff.; V (Halbb.), 785-86; “Guilds” (late Roman) (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 206 ff.; Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1911); La Piana, “Foreign Groups in Rome”, chap. iii.

were destined to supersede.²⁹⁰ A complicated system of such associations existed from the earlier days until the end of the Empire. In 186 B.C. the senate promulgated the famous edict against the association of Bacchus worshippers. In 64 B.C. practically all *collegia* were suppressed. Clodius, eager to win popular favour, reinstated them and even founded new ones, after which those politically more dangerous were suppressed in 56 B.C. Following the civil wars, Caesar intervened even more drastically; and, after Augustus had come and gone, the establishment became wholly dependent on the good will of the emperor and the senate, and only those associations useful to the state were allowed to exist. During the Antonine period and particularly through the favour of Alexander Severus they increased enormously.²⁹¹ Roman legal theory produced a comprehensive and most detailed classification of these *collegia*. Three different kinds were distinguished: *collegia sacerdotalia*, *sodalitates*, and *collegia privata*.²⁹² The first two were public institutions, the third included private associations. The first class²⁹³ is less important than the second, which comprises all associations whose task was to maintain the officially supervised cult of the officially sanctified deities of Rome. Its members are not *sacerdotes* but *cultores*. It can clearly be shown that these institutions developed from the old gentilic order, in which certain gentes were entrusted with the rites to be performed for the benefit of the whole people in addition to worshipping their own deities. Certain of these gentilic associations continued to survive. The general trend, however, lay in the replacement of these natural cultic groups by *sodalitates*.²⁹⁴ These were closely knit associations with a strong feeling of solidarity. Besides the common religious purpose (worship), the criterion of membership was no longer consanguinity but professional and local affinity (*collegium mercatorum*, *collegium capitolinorum*—"qui in Capitolio habitarent"). The sacerdotal *collegia* of the Fabiani and Quintiales were composed of members of these gentes, and so were the Luperci Julii founded by Caesar.²⁹⁵ It is interesting that the titles of

²⁹⁰ The institution of the *collegia* flourished also greatly in the provinces of the Roman Empire (see Rostovtzeff, *Social History*, chap. v, and n. 42, p. 539).

²⁹¹ Dill, *op. cit.*, chap. iii.

²⁹² *PWRE*, IV, 379 ff. Cf., on the legal aspect, San Nicolò, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, *Introd.*

²⁹³ Cf. below, chap. viii and Appendix.

²⁹⁴ Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 411. Special rites and functions (sacred dances or circumambulations, etc.) may have been originally performed by such natural groups that developed into cultic associations.

²⁹⁵ *PWRE*, IV, 383.

father, mother, brother, and sister were current in the terminology of the *collegia* as indicative of relationship.

The third class of associations can be subdivided into those comprising individuals devoted to private religious cults and those based on contiguity of professional interests. It should be strongly emphasized, however, that this is not a rigid classification, for not only did cultic associations have secondary purposes and interests but, generally speaking, "all Greco-Roman societies, great and small, rested on religion".²⁹⁶ This situation obtains not only among the Romans but, as a comprehensive examination and comparison of similar institutions shows, is true the world over, at least in certain phases of historical development. We are now concerned with the first subdivision of Roman *collegia* comprising societies for the private cult of foreign deities (*sacra peregrina*) or old Roman gods like Jupiter or Ceres and the private cult of the emperors. They are "specifically religious organizations" according to our analysis in chapter v, although they sometimes assume a mixed character when they merge with non-religious organizations. Private cultic groups (*sodalicia*) easily absorbed the economic, social, and political interests of their members.²⁹⁷ These *sodalicia* drew their members largely from the lower classes and presented a peculiarly close form of association. It was for many a substitute for the old "natural" solidarity of family and gens, as in the *collegia tenuorum*. These *collegia*, it has been said, became "homes for the homeless, a little fatherland or *patria* for those without a country".²⁹⁸ To make provision for an adequate funeral was the outstanding and sometimes sole purpose of some of these groups (*collegia funeralia*)²⁹⁹ in ancient Rome, just as in medieval Christianity, Hinduism, and Confucianism. We know of the constitution and organization of these societies from documentary evidence, but the extent and character of actual mutual assistance and the liability of the members are somewhat obscure.³⁰⁰ The very fact that common commemorative meals in connection with burials were a feature of the *collegia tenuorum* proves how easily they could degenerate into purely social

²⁹⁶ Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 262; cf. La Piana, *op. cit.*, pp. 225, 237 ("The performance of religious duties was, however, one of the activities of almost all colleges—of the professional guilds as well as the *collegia tenuorum*"). Cf. also San Nicolò, *op. cit.*

²⁹⁷ Dill, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 ff.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 271. On the *scholae* see La Piana, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

²⁹⁹ On the funerary collegium of the worshippers of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium and these types in general see Dill, *op. cit.*, pp. 256 ff., 259, 272 ff.; La Piana, *op. cit.*, pp. 241 ff.

³⁰⁰ *PWRE*, IV, 387.

"clubs". Political ambition and activities eventually brought down upon them the suspicion of and interference from the state, which initiated reprisals and eventually severely curbed the scope of their activities. This is true not only of the first but also of the second sub-type of the *collegia privata*. The professional associations, which contained tradesmen and artisans, veterans and subordinate military and civil servants,³⁰¹ developed after the Second Punic War and multiplied greatly in later imperial times in spite of the interference of the state.³⁰² Their organization corresponded, significantly enough, to the municipal and provincial administration (*magistri, curatores, quaestores*, etc.) and was held together by common interests, common life, and common celebrations among the members. A wide gulf must have existed between the noble, rich, great metropolitan collegium, on the one hand, and the poor, small provincial collegium on the other.³⁰³ The religious celebrations of these groups were headed by sacerdots. It is interesting that the magister, besides other duties, presided at the cultic meals wearing a white priestly robe.³⁰⁴

The Germanic associations³⁰⁵ were important particularly in the earlier and later Middle Ages.³⁰⁶ Their development was influenced by the Greco-Roman *collegia*,³⁰⁷ but there is no doubt that the major impetus which brought them together was a common original impulse and a talent for social grouping.³⁰⁸ To quote the greatest authority on these groups: "The inner reason for the formation of the free associations of German law is not to be found in the existence of various institutions facilitating the new formation of guilds but in the self-help of the people, which, with the dissolution and insufficiency of the natural associations existing since time immemorial, gave new expression to the idea of communion and association as it exists in the

³⁰¹ PWRE, IV, 402. Cf. esp. La Piana, *op. cit.*, p. 244, who rightly mentions as three main types of *collegia*: professional, cultores, and funeral. Cf. there (pp. 265 ff.) on merchant associations in Rome (Greek artists, athletes, physicians, etc.).

³⁰² ESS, VII, 208-9 on the later development (fifth century).

³⁰³ Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

³⁰⁴ Kornemann, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

³⁰⁵ Cf. O. von Gierke's analysis in *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, chaps. xxvi ff.

³⁰⁶ James Westfall Thompson, *An Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages (1300-1530)* (Appleton-Century Co., 1931) (quoted hereafter as "Thompson, *Economic History*"), pp. 788 ff. Cf. there different theories on the origin of the guilds.

³⁰⁷ On the influence of Roman "confraternities" on early Christianity, cf. Thomas Martin Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917), pp. 125 ff.

³⁰⁸ Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, p. 226.

consciousness of the people".³⁰⁹ These associations are called "guilds," a word interpreted as meaning a group sharing in common worship. According to Kluge,³¹⁰ the word is originally derived from *geldan*, *gildan*, "to sacrifice" (*opfern*); in the eleventh century *gildi* is an assembly for a sacrificial meal.

In summing up briefly the development of these associations, we have to deal, first, with the original form of the guild. The members were united by the closest bond and could call themselves "brothers" (*confratria*).³¹¹ Amira traces the relation of the concept of brotherhood in the medieval guilds back to the *Bundbrüderschaft* of the Old Germanic times. In contradistinction to modern associations and clubs, they were exclusive because they claimed the whole and undivided loyalty of their members.³¹² Among their objectives (social, political, and cultic aims) the religious was always predominant. Each guild was protected by a tutelary saint, after whom it was called, and it possessed an altar to the support of which the members contributed. The brethren met regularly, with their meetings styled after former pagan sacrificial meals and the Christian celebration of the eucharist; hence their name, *convivia*. The social side of the guilds was accentuated in the course of time.³¹³ As with the Roman *collegia tenuorum*, provision for the burial of deceased members and veneration of the departed, expressed in fitting rites (Masses, etc.), was one function of the guild. At every festive or regular meeting of this association, the performance of cultic rites was a constant reminder to the members of the religious origin of the institution. Later the guilds were divided into those distinctly religious and those predominantly secular. Such a distinction, however, must not be too sharply drawn. The religious type, which belongs to the group of social organizations discussed in chapter v, is represented by the Kaland guild associations of priests from the same district.³¹⁴ The secularist type is found in guilds in which the political and legal character over-

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 228; Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (11th edn. by A. Götz; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1934), p. 207.

³¹¹ Karl von Amira, *Grundriss der germanischen Rechts* ("Grundriss des germanischen Philologie", ed. H. Paul, 3rd ed.; Strasburg: K. J. Trübner, 1913), p. 166.

³¹² Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, p. 227. Cf. Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904 ff.), Vol. V, chap. vi, esp. pp. 416 ff.

³¹³ Edmund K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1903), II, 113, discusses the part of the corporations in medieval English religious plays.

³¹⁴ Gierke, *op. cit.*, p. 239. Cf. below, chap. viii, sec. 3, and notes to Appendix.

shadows the religious; all guilds tend to maintain their all-inclusive character because, in spite of the dominance of their professional character, earlier objectives are not completely abandoned. Merchant guilds which are centred about economic and social interests, according to Thompson, are "almost if not quite as early as craft guilds".³¹⁵ This author emphasizes the gradual development from a "democratic" to a more oligarchic spirit in the group (merchant and handicraft guilds³¹⁶—*Zünfte*³¹⁷—in England, Germany, Italy, etc.). Gierke lists the following names for the *Zünfte*: *fraternitas*, *consortium*, *societas*, *sodalitas*, *convivium*, *unio*, *conjuratio*—which shows in how many respects these associations were the heirs of the classic and the Christian tradition.³¹⁸

(c) *Islam*.—A third example may be borrowed from Mohammedanism, which portrays in clear relief the process of blending and coalescing of social groupings founded originally on varied impulses and motives. Inasmuch as Mohammedanism, a founded religion, superimposed its social ideals and organization upon the existing faith, it is natural that it should contain within it a considerable amount of borrowed good. In truth, Mohammedan political, cultural, and social concepts and institutions can hardly be understood adequately except through a comparative analysis of the old Arabic, pagan Hellenistic, and Iranian civilizations.³¹⁹ The first two, according to a recent analysis, have contributed considerably to the development of Mohammedan associations and ideology.³²⁰ The old Arabian concept of the *fada* (one who fulfils all that is required by his status) and of *futuwwa*,³²¹ often identified with *muruwwa* ("virtue"), marks a

³¹⁵ Thompson, *Economic History*, p. 790. Cf. also Henri Pirenne, "European Guilds" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 208 ff.

³¹⁶ Gierke, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxvii. On the associations of merchants outside their home town and land (analogous to Greek, Mohammedan, and Chinese organizations) cf. *ibid.*, pp. 349–50.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 359 ff.

³¹⁸ For the influence of the organization of the craft guilds upon modern secret societies (Masons) cf. Noel Pitts Gist, *Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, 1940), p. 73, and below, n. 487.

³¹⁹ Herman Thorning, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens", in *Türkische Bibliothek*, ed. Georg Jacobi (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1913), p. 16; Franz Täschner, "Die islamischen *futuwwa* Bünde: Das Problem ihrer Entstehung und die Grundlinien ihrer Geschichte", *ZDMG*, LXXXVII (1934), 6 ff., which the above outline follows. Cf. also Massignon, "Islamic Guilds" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 214.

³²⁰ Täschner, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff. Cf. Carl Heinrich Becker, "Der Islam im Rahmen einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte", and Franz Babinger, "Der Islam in Kleinasien", *ZDMG*, LXXVI (1922), 18 ff., 23, and 126 ff.

³²¹ Cf. "Futuwwa" (art.), in *EI*, II, 123–24; suppl., pp. 79 ff. Cf. also three contributions to the topic in *Ergeneyon: Festschrift für Georg Jacob*, ed. Theophil Menzel (Leipzig: Otto Harassowitz, 1932), pp. 112 ff., 276 ff., 304 ff.

level of development still retaining the identical tribal order, which did not permit of exclusive associations. The latter first developed only after Islam had taken over the old social organization of the Mesopotamian countries. Here we see the second stage of fadadom,³²² the corporations of *fityan* (plural of *fata*), as they were called, which originally resembled the associations, built up of a type of age groups like that which we previously reviewed (chap. iv, sec. 7). These associations came in time to be but little more than social clubs and at all times showed surprisingly little religious interest.³²³

The next step is the strengthening and intensification of the association along the lines of the *futuwwa* ideal,³²⁴ as it is now called, with the theoretical foundation being supported by Sufi terminology and ideology.³²⁵ Here, again, various social motives merge with the "strictly religious" ascetic and monastic motives.³²⁶ Of special interest in this connection is the Shadhiliya, a Sufi order founded by Al-Shadhili in the thirteenth century. Shadhili at first intended that his followers should pursue their trades and professions, "combining if possible their normal activities with acts of devotion". Later a normal *tariqa* developed. The *futuwwa* corporations of the tenth to the twelfth centuries were thus associations with distinct religious tones, as indicated by the names of their patrons³²⁷ and by their Sufi ideology. With the reform under Khalifa Nasur (1180-1225)³²⁸ they became *hoffähig* (acceptable at court) and probably attained the height of their development during the Abbaside era.³²⁹ Their chivalrous character, reminiscent of the old Arabic ideal of chivalry, is indicated by the prevalence of military and sporting activities.³³⁰

³²² Täschner, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³²⁴ For the etymology see *ibid.*

³²⁵ The literature on Sufism or Islamic mysticism is very extensive. See "Dervish", "Tasawwuf", and "Tariqa" (arts.), in *EI*, I, 949 ff., IV, 687 ff., 667 ff.; Duncan Black Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911), chaps. v, vi; Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (London: G. Bell, 1914); Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'al Hosayn ibn Al Mansur al Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1922) (esp. for the earlier history), and *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929); on Turk *sufis* see Theophil Menzel, "Die ältesten türkischen Mystiker", *ZDMG*, LXXIX (1925), 269 ff.

³²⁶ *EI*, IV, 246 ff.

³²⁷ Cf. Richard Hartmann, "Futuwwa und Malama", *ZDMG*, LXXII (1918), 193 ff.

³²⁸ Täschner, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 ff.; P. Kahle, "Die Futuwwa-Bündnisse des Kalifen en Nasir", *Festschrift für Georg Jacob*, pp. 112 ff.

³²⁹ Cf. Th. Arnold, "Muslim Civilization during the Abbasid Period", *CMedH*, Vol. IV, chap. x.

³³⁰ Cf. works cited in chap. v, nn. 406, 422, on Moslem orders (religious and military).

The entire *futuwwa* development was brought to an abrupt end at the metropolis of Mohammedan culture at the time of the Mongol conquests,³³¹ and a new variety of association emerged. No longer the nobility but the bourgeois, the middle class, was now the protagonist, just as in the Achi corporations of Turkish Anatolia after the fourteenth century, which cultivated the economic interests of the merchants.³³² Another professional group were the Ghazi organizations³³³ (fighters of the faith), of which the famous Janissary corps³³⁴ was the offspring. Since the fifteenth century, the *futuwwa* organizations have been identical with the much older professional handicraft and merchant associations.³³⁵ There is a strong resemblance between the *futuwwa* and the Roman corporations, particularly those of the Hellenized³³⁶ provinces.³³⁷

Every guild of the *ahl attariq* (the people of the path)—again we see the infiltration of Sufism—had a patron, *pir* (the Persian designation for the founders of the Sufi orders), who was considered the inventor of the craft.³³⁸ Most of them were *ashab* (companions of the prophet), and many legends and miracle stories were current about them. Examples are the *vita* of Selman, the patron of the barbers (Mohammed's barber), or Damri, the patron of the couriers (Mohammed's courier).³³⁹ There were also pre-Mohammedan patrons: Adam of the peasants, Seth of the weavers, Noah of the carpenters and sailors, Abraham of the bricklayers (Kaaba), Jesus of the dyers. Of the Indian Moslem patron saints, Khidr protected the sailors and al-Jilani the "industrial castes and local guilds". Similar concepts are found in medieval Christian guilds.

³³¹ Cf. Herbert M. J. Loewe, "The Mongols", *CMedH*, Vol. IV, chap. xx.

³³² Franz Täschner, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Achis in Anatolien", *Islamica*, Vol. IV (1929). He lists in "Die islamischen *futuwwa* Bünde", *ZDMG*, LXXXVII, 41, a number of Turkish and Russian publications not available to us.

³³³ Paul Wittek (*ZDMG*, LXXIX (1925), 288 n.) on the *achi* organizations; cf. above, n. 325.

³³⁴ Cf. R. Tschudi, "Janissaries" (art.), in *EI*, II, 572 ff. On their chaplains, the *bektashi*, see *Moslem World*, XXXII (1942), 7.

³³⁵ L. Massignon ("Sinf" (art.), in *EI*, IV, 436 ff.) attributes their origin to the Karmatian movement of the ninth century in connection with industrial development, growth of urban populations, and anti-Arab nationalist tendencies. Cf. "Karmatians" (art.), *EI*, II, 767 ff. Cf. also "Futuwwa" (art.), in *EI*, II, 123.

³³⁶ Rostovtzeff, *Social History*. On the associations in Hellenist Asia Minor cf. Ramsay, *Cities of Phrygia*, I, 97 ff., 105. Cf. also Franz Babinger, "Islam in Kleinasien", *ZDMG*, LXXVI, 194 ff.

³³⁷ A fixed topographical distribution of the trade guilds in Mohammedan cities is proved by Massignon in *EI*, IV, 436.

³³⁸ Thorning, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87; Titus, *Indian Islam*, pp. 142-43.

The Mohammedan corporation possesses two characteristic features: the presiding *shaikh*, who attains office by election and wields absolute power, and the *najib*, or master of ceremonies, who is both his aide-de-camp and the interpreter (*targuman*) of the assembly.³⁴⁰ The famous mystic Hasan Basri (seventh century) is considered the patron of the *shaikhs*.³⁴¹ An interesting relationship, smacking of the German guilds, is that of the master (*ustadh*) to the novice, or candidate, which corresponds somewhat to the Sufi relation of *pir* to *murid*.³⁴² The ceremony of reception into the corporation was meticulously prescribed. It was performed by mystical orders as well as by corporations and symbolized the unity of brotherhood.³⁴³ The special apparel (apron, turban) and insignia (prayer rug) were religiously symbolical. The apron (*futa*), for instance, which in certain craft initiations is girded on to the candidate by the master, is supposed to have been originally handed to Mohammed by Gabriel upon the occasion of the former's voyage to heaven.

Having illustrated the social significance of the association and its effect upon religious differentiation,³⁴⁴ it is now incumbent upon us to trace in a more general way the direct influence of social differentiation upon higher religion.

7. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN HIGHER CIVILIZATION

The influence of occupational, economic, and social stratification on religious attitudes in primitive society is greater than is generally admitted, but can be studied even more impressively at the higher levels of civilization. As specialization becomes more intense and definite groupings based on wealth and rank are formed, religious conceptions, institutions, and habits within different strata of society begin to vary to a marked degree.

³⁴⁰ Cf. *EI*, II, 273-74.

³⁴¹ Hans Heinrich Schäfer, "Hasan Basri", in *Der Islam*, Vol. XIV (1925); Thorning, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Julian Obermann, "Political Thought in Early Islam: Hasan al Basri's Treatise on Qadar", *JAOS*, LV (1935), 138 ff.

³⁴² Cf. Richard Hartmann, *Al Kuschairis Darstellung des Sufitums* ("Türkische Bibliothek", No. XVIII (1914)), esp. chap. iii; E. L. Dietrich, "Lehrer und Schüler im Kairiner Ordensleben", in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens, Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Heffening and W. Kirfel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935), pp. 69 ff. The formula of the reception is: "I elected thee father and master" ("Shaikh" (art.), *EI*, in suppl., p. 206). Cf. Joachim Wach, *Meister und Jünger* (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1925), pp. 72-73, and below, chap. viii.

³⁴³ Thorning, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.; Massignon, "Shadd" (art.), in *EI*, IV, 245; also *ESS*, VII, 215; John Kingsley Birge, "The Ministry in Islam", in *IRM*, XXV (1937), 470 ff.

³⁴⁴ Cf. also below, nn. 485 and 531.

In pre-Columbian America, western Africa, the South Sea islands, and in other parts of the primitive world, the invention of and guardianship over different functions are attributed to special deities.³⁴⁵ Not only do some gods or demons stand out among the collective host of spirits, but certain activities are connected with these more personalized figures, and they are worshipped as the inventors of different occupations and as protectors of the guilds organized on this basis. Various groups among the Zuñi of New Mexico worship special deities and maintain special priesthoods, rituals, places of worship, and ceremonies.³⁴⁶ In the Society Islands gods of husbandry, carpenters, canoe-wrights, forest-workers, actors, singers, hairdressers, combers, and numerous others were worshipped.³⁴⁷ "Departmental" gods were known in Samoa, who were concerned with fruit, fish, rain, healing; there were guardian gods and occupational deities. In New Zealand, Tane protected forestry, Tu war, Ronga food and peace, and Tangaroa ruled over the marine department.³⁴⁸ Frequently, as in the religions of Nigeria and Oceania, this pattern reflects the influence of a higher civilization.³⁴⁹

More of this specialism we meet with in complex cultures. The pantheon of early China or Japan, of early Iran and India,³⁵⁰ of the Etruscans and Romans, reflects a more advanced degree of social development than does the Aztec and Mayan, Yoruban and Samoan. In his theory of religious development based on studies of Indo-European religions, Usener characterizes the first stage as that of *Funktionsgötter*.³⁵¹ He points out the "infinitesimal" pluralism in which the Romans and Lithuanians experienced the divine. Not only the various major activities of men but even the minutest corollaries of such activities were connected with "Ressort- und Funktionsgottheiten". In many religions the

³⁴⁵ Cf. Hermann Karl Usener, *Götternamen, Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung* (2nd ed.; Bonn: F. Cohen, 1929); Lewis Richard Farnell, *Greek Hero-Cults* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), and *The Attributes of God* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), chap. iv; Alfred Bertholet, *Götterspaltung und Göttervereinigung* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933); G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, trans. J. E. Turner (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1938), pars. 1-21.

³⁴⁶ The six chief groups are characterized by Ruth Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism" (*BAE*, Vol. XLVII (1929-30)), pp. 467 ff., 508 ff.

³⁴⁷ Williamson, *Central Polynesia*, p. 33.

³⁴⁸ See above, sec. 4, and Buck, *Anthropology*, p. 38.

³⁴⁹ Cf. Williamson, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

³⁵⁰ Cf., on the popular tutelary deities of the common folk and village populations in India, Crooke, *The Popular Religion in Northern India*, chaps. ii, iii, v. On Hanuman as protector of the wrestlers see *ibid.*, pp. 87 ff.

³⁵¹ Cf. above, n. 345.

favourite or the chief deity reflects clearly the most powerful or influential group in that society. Thus we have the deities of the *warrior*: Huitzilopochtli of the Aztecs, the Kuantu of the Chinese, the Japanese Hachiman, Ashur of Nineveh, the Nordic Thor-Donar and Odin, the Iranian Mithra, the Greek Ares and the Roman Mars, the Hittite Teshup and the Vedic Indra; the gods of *fertility*: God B of the Maya corresponding to the Mexican Tlaloc, the Aztec Xipe, the Mesopotamian Ishtar, Osiris in Egypt, the Greek Demeter and Kore, the Teutonic Freyr and Nerthus; the gods of the learned *scribes*: Hermes in Greece, Thoth in Egypt, Marduk-Nebo in Babylonia, Neriosang of the Iranians, the Hindu Ganesha, Manjushri in Buddhism; of technological *skill*: Shango of the Yoruba in Africa, Hephaistos-Vulcanus of classic antiquity, Shiva in India; of *unusual* and outcast activities: Quetzalcoatl in pre-Columbian America, Shiva and Kali of the Hindu, Hermes in Greece; *death-gods* like the Mayan God A, the Mexican Tezcatlipoca, the Indian Yama, the Greek Hades, the Nordic Hel, the Babylonian Nergal, the Bodhisattva Kshiti-garbha (Ti-tsang) in Mahayana Buddhism. Important social and historical changes are reflected in the history of some of these figures³⁵² in their increasing and declining popularity.³⁵³

Monotheistic religions, of course, do not show the same variety and variation in their respective theologies, but popular religion in Christianity, Judaism, and Mohammedanism is not unacquainted with protective saints for all conceivable activities, groups, or organizations in a complex society. The Roman Catholic conception of angels and saints,³⁵⁴ the Jewish protective

³⁵² Cf. Walter Addison Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations* (Oxford University Press, 1925) (general comparative study on healing gods). Cf. also "Health and Healing Gods" (art.), in *ERE*, VI, 540 ff.; Friedrich Schwenn, "Der Krieg in der griechischen Religion", *ARW*, XX (1920-21), 299 ff.; C. Imbault-Huart, "Kouan-Ti, le dieu de la guerre chez les Chinois", *RHR*, XIII (1886), 129 ff.

³⁵³ On the influence which the fact that Confucius was considered the patron of the literati in China had on the development of his cult see John Knight Shyrock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius* (New York and London: Appleton-Century Co., 1932). Cf. above, chap. v, n. 116, and below, chap. vii, nn. 117 ff.

³⁵⁴ *ERE*, IV, 578, XI, 51 ff., 784 ff.; *RGG*, II, 1736 ff.; Ernst Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche*, ed. G. Anrich (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904); Heinrich Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1910); Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Work of the Bollandists through Three Centuries, 1615-1915* (Oxford University Press, 1922); Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3rd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1926), pp. 320 ff.; Franz Cumont, "Les Anges du paganisme", *RHR*, LXXII (1915), 159 ff.; van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie*, para. 16; E. A. Greene, *Saints and Their Symbols* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1929); Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder & Co., 1926). Cf. John Moffat Mecklin, *The Passing of the Saint: A Study of a Cultural Type* (Cambridge University Press, 1941). Cf. also F. Heiermann, S. J., "Sainthood", *AJS*, XXV (1919-20), 24 ff., and below, chap. viii, sec. 6.

spirits,³⁵⁵ and the Mohammedan angels, prophets, *walis*, and *pirs*³⁵⁶ are illustrative.

Definite teachings on the ethics of work, occupation, and profession are to be found in Brahminism, Hinduism, Parsiism, Judaism, and Islam. Christianity, however, gave them a deeper and more comprehensive interpretation, which alone made possible the unique cultural and technical development in the Western world. The "calling"³⁵⁷ in which the individual finds himself was considered part of the divine order and made a great deal of, beginning with Paul ("But as God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk," I Cor. vii, 17) and particularly by Luther (*Ruf*) and Calvin (*Berufsethik*).³⁵⁸ Individual moral consciousness was in Lutheran Protestantism to replace the collective ethics of the professional groups (*officium, ministerium*) in the medieval hierarchy of society (cf. St. Thomas' concept of natural law and its application to the order of occupations).³⁵⁹ The contribution of Calvinism to the development of the modern vocational ethos (concept of the confirming certainty of salvation through work and success; intramundane asceticism) and its secularization has been studied by Max Weber and others.³⁶⁰

As a "curiosum" we might regard the bizarre suggestion of a seventeenth-century Pietist Lutheran theologian, Paul Egard,

³⁵⁵ W. O. E. Oesterley, "Angelology and Demonology in Early Judaism", in T. W. Manson, *A Companion to the Bible* (T. & T. Clark, 1939), pp. 332 ff.; George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Oxford University Press, 1927-30), I, 401 ff. ("familia Dei"); "Geister II" (art.), in RGG, II, 963 ff. (for spirits protecting individuals and peoples (congregations)); cf. Rev. i, 20 ff.

³⁵⁶ Mohammedan saints: "Muhammedan Saints" (art.), in ERE, XI, 63 ff.; Ignaz Goldziher, "Le Culte des saints chez les Musulmans", RHR, II (1880), 257 ff.; Edward William Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages: Studies from the 1001 Nights* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883), chap. iii; Edward Alexander Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1926), chaps. i-iii; August Fickher, "Der grosse marokkanische Heilige Abdessalam ben Meshis", ZDMG, LXXI (1917), 209 ff. In India: Titus, *Indian Islam*, chap. vii: "Saint-Worship"; Hindu: John Campbell Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India: A Study of Sadhuism* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1905); ERE, XI, 59 ff., 68 ff. On Hindu worship of Mohammedan saints cf. Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus: Religion und Gesellschaft in heutigen Indien* (München: Kurt Wolff, 1922), pp. 99 ff.; cf. also above, sec. 6.

³⁵⁷ Karl Holl, "Die Geschichte des Wortes Beruf", *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1928), Vol. III.

³⁵⁸ Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen* (in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1912)), I, pp. 70 ff., 120 ff., 311 ff., 580 ff., 666 ff.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Robert Snell, *The Nature of Man in St. Thomas Aquinas Compared with the Nature of Man in American Sociology* ("Catholic University of America Studies in Sociology", Vol. VI (Washington, D.C., 1942)), chap. ii.

³⁶⁰ Above, chap. i, nn. 12, 13; "Arbeit" (art.), in RGG, I, 471 ff.; and William Joseph McDonald, *The Social Value of Property According to St. Thomas* ("Philosophical Studies", Vol. XLVIII (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1939)).

who insisted that "imitation of Christ" meant meditation on all the conceivable activities of Jesus—Jesus as preacher, interpreter, auditor, pupil; as king, official, councillor, warrior, nobleman, judge, and subject; as father, bridegroom, child, servant, etc.³⁶¹ Albrecht Ritschl, historian of Pietism, quotes from his tractate: "If we contemplate and analyse the private and official life of our Lord Jesus, we find him in all estates which he sanctified." The ideas of Luther and Tauler are here carried to their logical extremes. The American Moravians³⁶² followed these ideas out in their "choir" system, where the congregation was divided according to sex, age, and work into groups with special rituals (love feasts): "The joiners, the weavers, the cartwrights, the smiths, the hewers of wood, the milkers of cows, the knitters, the sewers, the cooks, the washerwomen—all had their special love-feasts." All work had a religious character.

The developments not only of doctrine but also of cult and worship reveal the effects of social stratification in all kinds of societies on religious attitudes. *Rites de passage*, prayer, and sacrifice show striking resemblances in almost all religions, yet there are certain ceremonies or institutions which unite preferably or exclusively a group of people belonging to the same occupation, rank, or economic status. Three of these occupations or professions which occur in many different societies and cultures have so influenced the development of religion that we may well single them out. We will now speak of the religion of the warrior, of the merchant, and of the peasant.

A. RELIGIONS OF THE WARRIOR

(a) *Mexico*.—Each of the great world religions in one of its aspects has become a faith of warriors, soldiers, and officers.³⁶³ None appears to have been originally a military cult; but, in reshaping and readapting their forms to accord with inherent desires, needs, and attitudes of fighting men, a dominant warrior caste

³⁶¹ Albrecht Benjamin Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Bonn: A. Marcus, 1880 ff.), II, 54–55. For an analogy in Calvinistic social theory cf. Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 408 (Hooker).

³⁶² Jakob John Sessler, *Communal Piety among the Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1933), chaps. iii, "General Economy", and iv, "A Holy Brotherhood", esp. pp. 96 ff., 102.

³⁶³ The attitude of the founder of Christianity and his early and later followers towards war, military activity, and life is studied—*sine ira ac studio*—by Adolf von Harnack, *Militia Christi: Die christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905), and by Cadoux, *The Early Church and the World*. Military organization, symbols, and language in the Christian church(es) have, as yet, not been sufficiently studied (cf. chap. v., n. 420).

was able to impress its mould upon the religious pattern. The religion of the pre-Columbian Mexican empire reflects clearly the dominance of a military organization over the state religion in thought, cult, and organization.³⁶⁴ In spite of the fact that the non-militaristic spirit of the Toltec civilization and religion³⁶⁵ was merged into the official cult of the empire, it was clearly the fierce nature of the Nahua people which impressed upon the religion its distinctive character. The most popular deities of the pantheon are not gods like Quetzalcoatl, the culture hero, but figures like Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca, the merciless gods of war and of night and storm. The centre of Huitzilopochtli's worship was at Cholula.³⁶⁶ Tezcatlipoca is "par excellence the nocturnal god who haunts the crossways and appears in a myriad phantom guises to the night-bound wayfarer. . . . From him all ominous and uncanny sounds proceed: the howl of the jaguar, and the foreboding cry of the uactli bird, the voc, the bird of Hurakan in the Popol Vooch".³⁶⁷ Among his titles are Tetzateotl ("terrible god"), Titlacahuan ("He whose slaves we are"), Yaotl ("enemy"), Uitznahuac Yaotl ("warrior in the southern temple"), etc. In his honour bloody sacrifices were performed which terrified the conquering Westerners.³⁶⁸ His brother, Camaxtli,³⁶⁹ is another of the numerous divine warriors; like Mixcoatl, he is the hunter-god of the Chichimecs and Otomi, the wild hunting tribes of the plains of the north.³⁷⁰ Spence regards him as the god of a section of the Nahua who entered Mexico proper before the advent of the worshippers of Huitzilopochtli, "the great hunter who casts the thunderbolt, the lightning arrow, and, therefore, is the godlike prototype of the savage sportsman". Similarly, Tlazolteotl, the great earth-goddess of the Huastecs, Mixtecs, and Mexicans, is regarded as the inventress of sacrificing by shooting to death with arrows, and a feast is regularly held in her honour at which women are duly immolated.

³⁶⁴ John Eric Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), chap. v. Cf. Ad. F. Bandelier, "On the Art of War of the Ancient Mexicans", *Tenth Report of the Peabody Museum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1877), pp. 98 ff.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. i, esp. pp. 16 ff.; George C. Vaillant, *Aztecs of Mexico* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1941), chaps. iii-iv.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 157 ff.

³⁶⁷ Lewis Spence, *The Gods of Mexico* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1923), p. 112; J. E. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff.; Vaillant, *op. cit.*, Table X, pp. 182 ff.

³⁶⁸ Description of the Panquetzaliztli according to Sahagun: Spence, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff. Cf. the account of ritual, the "skirmish" of the doomed prisoners, the "song of Huitzilopochtli" and the "song of the shield" (pp. 80 ff.).

³⁶⁹ Perhaps a local variant of Huitzilopochtli (*ibid.*, p. 313).

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 317; J. E. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56.

Ochpaniztli, "one of the most picturesque yet gruesome festivals of ancient Mexico", represents this aspect of Mexican religion. The priest of the goddess, who wore at this celebration a jacket made of the skin of the sacrificed women, was supposed to engage in mock combat with warriors. "This part of the proceeding symbolized the warlike character of the goddess, and the military significance of her cult." The people of Mexico believed that "only by continued offering-up of human sacrifice and blood could an adequate rainfall and, therefore, abundant harvest be procured, and this naturally presumed the upkeep of a considerable standing army and many military guilds or brotherhoods dedicated to the task of securing a large supply of sacrificial victims".³⁷¹

(b) *Mithraism*.—The soldierly cult of Mithra³⁷² is interesting for the sociologist of religion because of its professional aspects. Although at all times a powerful deity, Mithra originally was only one among a number of old Iranian nature-gods. One of the most impressive and fervent of the ancient Yasht (hymns) is addressed to him.³⁷³ Later this god of the ancient agricultural population of Iran became the dominating figure of the Iranian pantheon, largely through the support of the military nobility, who worshipped him above all other *ahuras*. With the introduction of this cult into the Roman Empire,³⁷⁴ Mithra was promoted to be god of Roman officers and men. The knights and warriors who colonized the eastern section of Asia Minor in Achaemenian times carried with them the cult of this solar deity; the manly ethics and congenial fellowship of this cult were peculiarly appealing to them.³⁷⁵ Mithra, who with his ten thousand ears, the stars, guards the skies, whom the Avesta praises as the watchman and protector against the *daevas*, becomes in Parsiism one of the three judges of the dead. The cult of him who was the strongest of the Yazata was destined to produce a doctrine of salvation. The Iranian theologians conceive of Mithra as mediator (*mesites*) between the gods and man.³⁷⁶ The Achaemenian kings take their

³⁷¹ Spence, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Vaillant, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.

³⁷² Cf. Franz Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra* (3rd ed.; Bruxelles: H. Lamartin, 1913) (trans. from 2nd ed. (1902) by Thomas J. McCormack as *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1903)); cf. also above, chap. v, nn. 78 ff.

³⁷³ Cf. Nyberg, *Iran*, pp. 52 ff. On his sociological theory of Iranian abstract concepts see above, chap. iv, sec. 3, n. 151.

³⁷⁴ As a *deus externus* Mithra could, however, never become an equal to the old deities of the army (like the *dii militares* Jupiter, Mars, Victoria). On these cults cf. Alfred von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (Trier, 1895), pp. 66 ff.

³⁷⁵ Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, trans. McCormack, pp. 33 ff., 175 ff.

³⁷⁶ On Mithra as mediator see Nyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 385 ff.

oaths by him. Theomorphic names in his honour are common among the Iranian aristocracy and knighthood. His festival, the Mithragan, was the occasion of popular and gorgeous celebrations. No wonder that the rule of the Diadochs was particularly favourable to the worship of the god who was considered "the manifestation and guarantor of legitimate authority". The gallant warriors of Armenia took over this cult.³⁷⁷ The Greeks naturally did not worship the great warrior-god, but they contributed to the artistic representations of the Tauroktonos, the bull-killer, who was to become so popular with the army of their conquerors.³⁷⁸

(c) *Zen Buddhism*.—It was in the form of Zen that Buddhism adapted itself to the ideals and attitudes of the Japanese knight (samurai).³⁷⁹ The teachings of Buddha himself, according to the Pali Suttas, could hardly be suitable for a religion of soldiers and warriors. Even among the Mahayana schools—it was founded in China—Zen holds a unique place, but its full development was reached only with the full development of feudalism on Japanese soil.³⁸⁰ The genuinely Buddhist insistence on the importance of meditation and spiritual discipline in general, as means of controlling mind and body, was made the very core of the programme of the patriarchs of Zen, a Bodhidharma, a Hui-neng (637–713).³⁸¹ This discipline was well adapted to the ideal of a fierce fighter prepared to face enemies and death. Not so much the depth of its metaphysical conceptions and the subtlety of its methods,³⁸² but its ethical strength, its exaltation of intrepidity appealed to the samurai. Zen actually became the fountain-head of a most elaborate and refined culture which found its echoes in all fields of expression, and in the course of time it changed from other-worldly asceticism into a cult of sophisticated society. Even to-day Zen instruction and Zen exercises are very popular with

³⁷⁷ *PWRE*, XV, Part II, 2134 ff.

³⁷⁸ Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, trans. McCormack, pp. 209 ff.; Fritz Saxl, *Mithras: Typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Berlin: H. Keller, 1931).

³⁷⁹ The teaching of Zen has been expounded in a number of publications by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. Cf. his *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (London: Luzac & Co., 1927 ff.) (cited hereafter as "Suzuki, *Essays*"), Vols. I–III (1927); his studies in *The Lankavatara Sutra: A Mahayana Text* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1932); and his *Manual of Zen Buddhism* (Kyoto: Eastern Buddhist Society, 1935).

³⁸⁰ Cf. Suzuki, *Essays*, II, 2, 4, and III, 7. Cf. above, chap. iv, sec. 6, nn. 281 ff.

³⁸¹ On the history of the masters see Suzuki, *Essays*, I, 149 ff.; for extracts from their writings see Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, pp. 85 ff.; on meditation, Suzuki, *Essays*, pp. 301 ff.

³⁸² Cf., on *satori* (use of the sudden intuitive method), Suzuki, *Essays*, I, 215 ff.; on *koan* exercises, *ibid.*, II, 3 ff.

the Japanese army.³⁸³ As in the earlier wars of this century, so to-day officers are wont to retire for a part of their leave into one of the Zen monasteries to practise the great art of "nourishment at the sacred heart" (realization of the oneness of the Buddha, essence of all existence), the "way from bondage to freedom", thus to liberate all energies for the most vigorous action.

B. RELIGIONS OF THE MERCHANT

Max Weber, who in a brilliant analysis was the first to make a comparative study of the religious attitudes of various social and professional groups in and outside Christianity,³⁸⁴ found a wide range of religious conceptions bearing the stamp of the thinking and the interests of the so-called "middle classes", a group less privileged than the nobility and aristocracy but possessing more of nature's bounties than do the masses of "common" people. Those engaged in trade and business form an important part of this group.³⁸⁵ The merchant class, according to Weber, is far less homogeneous in its attitudes, preferences, and habits³⁸⁶ than is the nobility or the military caste. Wide ranges prevail in wealth, social status, and education. The plutarchies of Rome, China, India, and the modern Western world contrast sharply with the small trader and business man in practically all countries with highly developed economic systems. A wide gulf often exists among the members of one profession, who may come from and move in widely different social milieus. Just as the opulent tries to compete with the nobility and aristocracy everywhere in influence, in property, and in privilege, so the wealthy bourgeois, in so far as he is at all interested in religious affiliation, is inclined to imitate or borrow from the traditions and attitudes of the noble class. Weber correctly remarks that scepticism or indifference is and has been everywhere a widespread attitude towards religion on the part of big merchants and financiers.³⁸⁷ The Chinese, Indian, or Greco-Roman cults of deities of wealth and prosperity and the many protective saints, genii, and deities of commercial groups and organizations in Roman Catholicism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, and Confucianism, as well as in many other religions,

³⁸³ Note the instructions on fencing in Suzuki, *Essays*, III, 318 ff.

³⁸⁴ *W. und G.*, chap. iv, Part 7; cf. *G.A.*, I, 251 ff.

³⁸⁵ *W. und G.*, pp. 273 ff.

³⁸⁶ On the development of the traders' profession see Thurnwald, *Economics*, pp. 145 ff.

³⁸⁷ Weber, *G.A.*, II, 274; cf. Werner Sombart, *The Quintessence of Capitalism*, trans. M. Epstein (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1915), pp. 93 ff., 103 ff., 228 ff.

afford a profession which desires an adequate representation of its needs and hopes an opportunity to modify and adapt the common theoretical and practical expression of a basic religious experience. The petty tradesman, who in his manners and living standards will more closely approach proletarian status, tends, however, to follow the lead of the respected and *arrivés* and to adopt the religious attitudes of the privileged groups. Yet there are orthodox and sectarian communities the attitude of which he controls. A particularly strong inclination to form associations can be observed among merchants who frequently have to live far from home and therefore are compelled to rely upon such an affiliation for comradeship and entertainment. As a student of the Roman associations phrases it: "In professional life no occupational status forced its members more effectively to close association than that of the merchant living among other nationals."³⁸⁸

Max Weber has also realized the peculiar appeal that three different religions have to merchants and commercial men in India. Two of these are genuine Indian cults,³⁸⁹ the Vallabhachari and the Jaina;³⁹⁰ the third is that of the Parsi, who are the descendants of seventh-century Zoroastrian emigrants from Persia.³⁹¹ Whereas the Vallabhachari³⁹² are an "orthodox" Hindu denomination, the Jaina are second only to the Buddhists in being the most important "heterodox" group in India.³⁹³ It is interesting to note the sharp contrast in the general attitude of the two communities towards the world. A healthy appreciation of the pleasures of this life (*pushti-marga*) is typical of the Vallabhi. Jainism, on the other hand, is the most ascetic religion in a country noted for its asceticism.³⁹⁴ The Parsis cling to the traditional positive and activist optimism of the Zoroastrian faith.³⁹⁵ The

³⁸⁸ Poland, *Vereinswesen*, p. 517. Cf. above, sec. 6.

³⁸⁹ Weber, *W. und G.*, and *G.A.*, III, 346 ff., 202 ff.

³⁹⁰ See Margaret Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1915); H. von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus: Eine indische Erlösungsreligion* (Berlin: A. Hager, 1925). On the history of Jainism see the *Cambridge History of India*, chap. vi. Also H. Jakob, "Der Jainismus", *ARW*, XVIII (1915), 269 ff.

³⁹¹ James Hope Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi: A Study of Modern Zoroastrianism* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1917), esp. Book II; Jivanji J. Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (2nd ed.; Bombay: J. B. Karani's Sons, 1937).

³⁹² "Vallabhacharya" (art.), in *ERE*, XII, 580 ff. Cf. there the line of succession of the *maharaja gosainji's* of the group, its worship of the guru, and its practices. On the reform movement within the Vallabhacharya, see *ibid.*, p. 583.

³⁹³ "Orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy" are measured by the attitude towards the Vedas and the caste system.

³⁹⁴ Cf. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, chap. xi.

³⁹⁵ Cf. Moulton, *op. cit.*, chap. ii.

attraction of the splendid and refined cult of Vallabha on people of the upper economic class is not difficult to understand. They are mostly wealthy merchants who make up this group, and their tastes are distinctly reflected in the cult of the "Maharajas". Similar interrelationship is noticeable in the other two groups, whose religions for various reasons became closely related to the commercial class. Only the trader, not the soldier, could so consistently observe the religious precepts of Jainism (e.g., that of *ahimsa*, "not killing"). Both Jainism and Parsiism became priestly religions in the course of time, and their requirements for ritually correct life could be met only in certain professions. Post-Exilic Judaism provides a striking parallel;³⁹⁶ its strong religious and ethical foundation offers a well-grounded basis for commercial ethics. Jaina and Parsi merchants are noted for their scrupulous honesty. However, in Jainism early prohibitions against acquisition of wealth have been qualified; acquiring of property is permitted; only its retention (*parigraha*) is objectionable.³⁹⁷ The Jaina monk is expected to live a wandering life in order to avoid mundane attachments; the layman, on the other hand, is adjured to remain in one place so that the spiritual leaders (*gurus*) can maintain their influence over him.³⁹⁸ As a result, banking and moneylending were commercial activities very compatible to a Jaina layman. The celebration of Divali, one of the great feasts of Jainism, is originally a Hindu festival in honour of Lakshmi, goddess of wealth.³⁹⁹ Stevenson, who describes the festival, remarks that, despite the protests of the stricter Jainas, these celebrations appear to be more concerned with the worship of money than of the passing of the founder, Mahavira. Laymen play a considerable part in the closely knit Jaini communities.⁴⁰⁰ Their initiative is felt in the arts and crafts, in literature, and in social and religious organizations.

The Parsis apply the principles of their religion, once the cult of a mighty empire, also to their life in the diaspora; they have

³⁹⁶ Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, chap. iv; cf. also pp. 426 ff.; Moore, *Judaism*, I, 16 ff., 110 ff., etc.; Baron, *Social History of the Jews*, I, 107 ff.: "The Impact of the Law". See there (pp. 9 ff., etc.) the discussion of the economic aspect.

³⁹⁷ Weber, *G.A.*, III, 211 ff.; cf. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff., 209 ff., 223, on *parigraha* (covetousness) and *lobhu* (avarice), the vow to control it, and the devices to evade such control (banking in other people's names, etc.). Here (p. 153) the story of Kapila, who, through fear of greed, became a monk. Cf. the vow to limit the things one uses (only twenty-six things) and to spend some time as a monk (pp. 212 ff.).

³⁹⁸ Stevenson, *op. cit.*, chaps. x and xi; the vow to fix limits of one's travels (p. 211).

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-61.

⁴⁰⁰ On the twenty-one qualities distinguishing the Jaina gentleman see *ibid.*, p. 224; on the encouragement to support the monks, *ibid.*, pp. 215 ff.

been successful and influential, particularly in the big cities, constituting one of the highly respected though isolated groups within the Indian community. If there is, according to modern reports, a note of "intense clannishness" among the followers of Zoroaster's religion, on the other hand "no Parsi is allowed to be really in want".⁴⁰¹ They conscientiously preserve their beliefs and rites, although their theology, reinterpreted by their well-educated and erudite priests, has become an ethical monotheism.⁴⁰² The tremendous social changes which have affected the lives of this people without destroying their religion, on the contrary causing them to cling even more faithfully to their sacred tradition,⁴⁰³ present a particularly instructive subject to the student of the sociology of religion.

As with other Vishnuite *sampradaya*,⁴⁰⁴ the Rudra *sampradaya* of Vishnusvami (thirteenth century), which is now identified with the doctrine of Vallabha (1479-1531),⁴⁰⁵ can be interpreted as a reaction against the intellectualism of official Brahminism. It is to the emotions of the faithful that the cult of *bhakti* (love)⁴⁰⁶ appeals. The Vedanta interpretation of Sri Vallabha contends that the latter quality has become imperceptible in man, whom it conceives as in essence identical with the divine, which is thought, being, and bliss. It is the aim and goal of each individual to liberate the suppressed joy or bliss and to participate in the eternally happy play of the god Krishna. The goal is attained through the worship of the guru, of whom the descendants of Vallabha enjoy particular authority. The wealthy merchants of Gujarat and Rajputana have eagerly embraced this cult, which features solemn and luxurious dinners, probably reminiscent of former ecstatic rites. The *gosain*, spiritual leaders of the Vallabhachari, who travel continuously on tours of inspection, are frequently well-known merchants, who successfully combine commercial with religious activity. A well-knit organization, enhancing the efficiency and thoroughness with which their activities are carried out, is another of the characteristic assets of this religious community.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰¹ Moulton, *Treasure of the Magi*, p. 120.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, chap. v: "Orthodoxy and Reform".

⁴⁰³ Moulton contrasts (*ibid.*, p. 128) the modern self-sufficient community with the active propaganda of the Sassanian Mazdayasnian "church".

⁴⁰⁴ See above, chap. v, sec. 4.

⁴⁰⁵ *ERE*, XII, 580-81.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Sinha, "The Bhagavata Religion: The Cult of Bhakti", in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, II, 48 ff.

⁴⁰⁷ Weber, *G.A.*, II, 348.

C. RELIGIONS OF THE PEASANT: WESTERN ASIA

Although agriculture is the major activity in both primitive and more advanced civilization, its importance even for highly complex cultures is often not adequately recognized. The work of the peasant, however, is always basic; it is vital to the economic, social, and cultural welfare of every society. Horticultural and agricultural interests are reflected, as we have seen, in the cults of the Oceanians, of many American Indians, and of south-eastern Asiatic and African tribes.⁴⁰⁸ The higher civilizations of Maya, Aztec,⁴⁰⁹ Central American Indians, and Peruvians are based on farming, and their cults reveal this clearly. In the words of one outstanding student of the religion of the Maya: "Far and away, the most important Gods were those intimately connected with agriculture and fertility."⁴¹⁰ Different though these national cults may be in character and structure, certain features of the religions of Japan, China, India⁴¹¹ and Persia, Greece⁴¹² and Rome,⁴¹³ of the Celts, Teutons, and Slavs, of old Israel⁴¹⁴ and Hither Asia indicate the effects of the work of the tiller of the soil, the planter and farmer, on religious concepts, rites, and forms of organization and the power which they in turn exert on the planter's and farmer's attitudes.⁴¹⁵ Even the comparatively recent founded religions unmistakably reveal this interdependence. Only one of the founded religions, Zoroastrianism, was originally born of

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. the monograph by H. K. Haeblerlin, *The Idea of Fertilization in the Culture of the Pueblo Indians* (*AAA Mem.*, Vol. III (1916)), pp. 1 ff., and the material collected in Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (3rd ed.; London: Macmillan & Co., 1911 ff.), here esp. "Spirits of the Corn", Vols. VII-VIII.

⁴⁰⁹ On Aztec agricultural gods see J. E. Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez*, pp. 137 ff.

⁴¹⁰ J. Eric Thompson, *The Civilization of the Mayas* (*FMNH, Anthr. Leaflet*, Vol. XXV (1936)), p. 24.

⁴¹¹ Mukerjee, *Man and His Habitation*, pp. 132 ff., on Hindu peasantry.

⁴¹² On Greek fertility rites see Martin P. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 90 ff. Cf. James George Frazer, *The Worship of Nature* (Macmillan & Co., 1926), pp. 318 ff.; "Gaia" (art.), in *PWRE*, VII, 467.

⁴¹³ Cf. William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1911), chap. ii: "The Calendar of Numa". The most conspicuous feature being "the testimony it bears to the agricultural habits of the People", agriculture, not trade, being the economic basis of their life (p. 99). Cf. also "Tellus" (*terra mater*) (art.), in *PWRE*, IX (1939), 731 ff., with an interesting discussion of the Greek influences and the forms of this cult. Cf. also *CAH*, III, 435 ff.

⁴¹⁴ Herbert Gordon May, "The Fertility Cult in Hosea", *AJSL*, XLVIII (1932), 73 ff.

⁴¹⁵ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Source Book in Rural Sociology*, chap. xiv on rural (agricultural) religion. Cf. there, pp. 368-69, the analysis of agricultural religious language and symbolism.

the soil.⁴¹⁶ The others were conceived in different atmospheres, but each of them adapted itself readily to meet the special needs and conditions of the peasantry. In practically all cases the missionary, whether of the cross,⁴¹⁷ the crescent, or the lotus flower, met at first with more or less obstinate, determined resistance among the rural population. The traditionally conservative character of all countryfolk has been the subject of much study. Recent scholarship has tried to analyse the typical religious features in peasantry.⁴¹⁸

The average peasant is practical-minded. This does not imply that his cult is purely pragmatic in character. Dominant as the idea of *do ut des* may be, feelings and expressions of thanksgiving, praise, and adoration of the divine are not lacking in agricultural religions. However, theoretical speculations and involved concepts do not play a great part. The mythical expression seems particularly well adapted to the rural mind, as evidenced by its firm hold on the imagination. The deities of the earth and of fertility enjoy special veneration.

"Mother Earth" has her devoted and enthusiastic adherents in all parts of the world.⁴¹⁹ The results of a careful sociological analysis of the religion of one type of European peasant are of great typological interest. Thomas and Znaniecki found four dominant concepts in the religion of the Polish peasant: belief in "general animation" and the solidarity of life in nature, belief in a world of spirits distinct from natural objects, absolute distinction of good and evil spirits, and only slight traces of a more highly developed personal communion with the deity. To all those concepts definite attitudes and rites correspond.⁴²⁰

The main emphasis in agricultural religion is on the cult, and in few religious environments does the display of magic play as important a role as among people entirely dependent upon the

⁴¹⁶ Cf. the recent discussion of the appropriate chapters of the Yasna, by Nyberg, *Iran*, p. 196 (*Vielmythologie*).

⁴¹⁷ Cf. now Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937 ff.), Vol. II, chaps. ii-iv.

⁴¹⁸ Weber, G.A., II, 267 ff.; cf. "Bauer" (art.), in *RGG*, I, 799 ff. Excellent analysis in William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918), I, 205 ff.; cf. also Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. I, chaps. v, vi, the comprehensive treatment of medieval English "folk" religion and village cult.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Albrecht Dietrich, *Mutter Erde: ein Versuch über Volksreligion* (3rd ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1925); Frazer, *The Worship of Nature*, chap. vi; von der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie*, para. 10; Haeberlin, *Idea of Fertilization in the Culture of the Pueblo Indians*.

⁴²⁰ Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, I, 205 ff. Growth of heretical concepts is excluded by traditional conservatism.

bounties of nature for their sustenance. This magical element remains integral to the rites of even the most advanced forms of peasant religion. It is contended that the peasant is rarely the initiator of religious movements, but, on the other hand, it should be recognized that in many instances intensification and variation of traditional worship can be traced to the "superstitions" of the peasants.

With the emergence and growth of towns and cities, rural traditionalism is threatened. A theology, rites, and ceremonies of an urban and priestly character are built up in the process of a development of the community into a more complex political unit, so that it becomes increasingly difficult for the peasant to meet the elaborate requirements of the cult and to follow its norms and precepts.⁴²¹ This is clearly evident in Judaism, Parsiism, Manichaeism, Mandaeism, Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism, and even in the later phases of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Roman religions. Weber has pointed out that the conception of the peasant as the ideal religious type is a modern Western creation and is originally foreign even to Christianity, which, like Judaism, looked to the city as the place where the religious precepts were most conscientiously followed.⁴²² The Russian idealists of the nineteenth century ardently cultivated the ideal of the muzhik as the model of the god-fearing, perfect Christian.⁴²³ Sectarianism has flourished among peasants as in the cities. Though suspicious of innovations and usually opposed to radicalism, the peasant can be roused by unusual events (danger, natural catastrophes) and by leaders who know how to win his confidence. In such cases strong passions can be awakened and his tenacious and frugal religious zeal can be turned from a conservative to a highly revolutionary attitude.⁴²⁴

The peasant, more dependent upon the favours of nature than any other group, well exemplifies Schleiermacher's famous definition of the source of religion as the feeling of "absolute dependence". Worship of divine manifestations of nature, such as the earth and the elements, creation of nature myths, and performance of fertility rites are, as we saw, characteristic of all

⁴²¹ Weber, *W. und G.*, Vol. IV, par. 7; Sorokin and Zimmerman, *A Systematic Source-book in Rural Sociology*, II, 353 ff.

⁴²² The ethics of Aquinas reveals clearly the influence of urban conditions (cf. above, sec., 5).

⁴²³ Nikolas Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1937), chap. iii: "Narodnichestvo".

⁴²⁴ Cf. Eileen E. Power, "Peasant Life and Rural Conditions in the Middle Ages", in *CMedH*, Vol. VII, chap. xxiv, pp. 716 ff., 739; and works cited below, in n. 469.

agricultural religions. The cults of the countries east of the Mediterranean ⁴²⁵ might serve us as examples.

To quote an authority on the ancient Near East: "Babylonia was regarded by the Greek authors as the true Eldorado of agriculture."⁴²⁶ The cycle of the seasons, which plays such an important part in the religion of primitive peoples, is symbolized in characteristic Egyptian, Anatolian, Syrian, and Phoenician rites.⁴²⁷ The death and resurrection of the gods is the core of autumn and spring myths. In Babylonia and Assyria it was Tammuz,⁴²⁸ whom the Syrians knew as Adonis,⁴²⁹ who was regarded as the "embodiment of the religious energies of nature" (Frazer). This deity annually blessed the earth with fertility, passed away, and was mourned by his divine spouse, who died soon after her husband. At the request of the messenger of the gods (Ea), both received permission from the Queen of Hades (Ereshkigal) to return to revivify the creative energies in the earth.⁴³⁰ In similar fashion worshippers mourned the youthful god of nature at Byblos in Syria and at Paphos in Cyprus.⁴³¹ The valley of the River Adonis and the ruins of his temple between Byblos and Baalbek still retain the charm of the cult which once so captivated the practical-minded Greek. Adonis, who shared his popularity with the great mother-goddess of western Asia, was supposed to have been begotten on Mount Cyprus at a festival of the corn-goddess. At Alexandria fruits, cakes, and plants were placed between the images of Aphrodite and Adonis; the latter's death was mourned, and the people sang to his return.⁴³² The "gardens of Adonis", pots filled with wheat, barley, and vegetables, which, after being cultivated for eight days by the women, were carried out with the image of Adonis and flung into the sea, betray clearly the character of this cult of vegetation. In view of later develop-

⁴²⁵ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Vols. V and VI (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris* ("Studies in the History of Oriental Religion" (3rd ed., 1914)) (cited hereafter as "Frazer, *Adonis*").

⁴²⁶ Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg: G. Winter, 1920-21), pp. 185-86, chap. vii.

⁴²⁷ For the religion of the Canaanites, Syrians, and Phoenicians cf. Friedrich Jeremias, in *Chantepie, Lehrbuch*, I, 607 ff. On Melkart see Wallace Bruce Fleming, *The History of Tyre* ("Columbia University Oriental Studies", Vol. X (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915)), chap. xiii.

⁴²⁸ Cf. "Tammuz" (art.), in *PWRE*, VIII (1932), 2139 ff.; S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914).

⁴²⁹ Frazer, *Adonis*, Vol. I, chaps. i-iii, ix-x.

⁴³⁰ Cult of Adonis: *PWRE*, I, 384 ff.; Wolf von Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1876), I, 289 ff.; *Adonis und Esmun: Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Glaubens an Auferstehungsgötter* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911); Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin: Gebrüder Bornträger, 1875 ff.).

⁴³¹ Frazer, *Adonis*, chap. ix.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, pp. 224 ff.

ments, it has been suggested that the figure of the god symbolized the corn spirit, but the rich legend and theology which grew up in the centres of his cult belie this humble origin. It is likely that the communities which worshipped Adonis sacrificed human beings in his honour.⁴³³

Attis, the Lord of Pessinus,⁴³⁴ is similarly regarded as a god of vegetation and corn. He was originally conceived of as a tree, a fact which explains why a pine tree is connected with legends and ritual related to him. This great god of Asia Minor had to be propitiated by sacrifices of blood, carried out by priests bearing his name. It is not impossible that the vicarious slaughter of a substitute eventually replaced the more ancient and barbarous human sacrifice, and the hanging of the image of the god on the tree might indicate the method whereby the lord of vegetation was formerly honoured.⁴³⁵

The various phases of the agricultural year were celebrated in Egypt with traditional ceremonies. The watering of the fields in the autumn, the sowing of the seed after the retreat of the flood, and the spring harvest are all accompanied by rites which reflect old mythological concepts.⁴³⁶ When the Egyptian corn-reapers beat their breasts and lament over the cutting of the first sheaf, they are mourning the killing of the corn-god, Osiris.⁴³⁷ The latter, whose legend has come down to us through the grace of Plutarch, became a complex figure in the course of time, serving as the fertility god of the Nile Valley. Phallic processions were regularly held in his honour. Osiris, who is credited by the Egyptians with having taught them the cultivation of wheat and barley, as well as other blessings of civilization, according to tradition, is forced yearly to undergo death and resurrection.⁴³⁸ His yearly revivification symbolizes the hope that his faithful followers will also be called back to life again.⁴³⁹ The ceremonies

⁴³³ On Esmun (originally a god of the revivification of nature), afterward "zum Heilgott der Menschen geworden" (developing to a saviour of men), cf. Wolf Wilhelm Graf Baudissin, "Der phönizische Gott Esmun", *ZDMG*, LIX (1905), 459 ff., esp. p. 522.

⁴³⁴ Frazer, *Adonis*, I, 263 ff.; *PWRE*, XIX, Part I, 1104 ff.; *RLM*, I, 118 ff.; Hugo Hepding, "Attis, Seine Mythen und sein Kult" in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1903), VIII, 224 ff.; Ramsay, *Cities of Phrygia*, I, 87 ff.; Albrecht Götz, "Kleinasion", *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Sec. III, Part I, Vol. III, p. 192.

⁴³⁵ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vol. IV, Part III: *The Dying God* (1911), esp. chap. viii: "The Killing of the Tree-Spirit"; and *Adonis*, pp. 288 ff.: "The Hanged God".

⁴³⁶ Cf. the chapter on "Landwirtschaft" in Kees, "Ägypten," pp. 18 ff.

⁴³⁷ Frazer, *Adonis*: Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, pp. 40 ff., 68 ff., 88 ff.

⁴³⁸ Frazer, *Adonis*, chap. iv. On the Osiris state ritual in Dendera cf. Kees, *op. cit.*, p. 316, who points to the origin of the cult in the Delta.

⁴³⁹ Frazer, *Adonis*, pp. 89 ff.; cf. also *ibid.*, chap. viii: "The Dying God".

at his festivals clearly illustrate the agricultural character of this deity.⁴⁴⁰ The funeral rites of Osiris, described in an inscription at the temple of Denderah, began with an elaborate ceremony symbolizing reaping, sowing, and ploughing.⁴⁴¹ Not unlike Attis, Osiris too is connected with a tree cult with special propensity for the evergreen ivy. Frazer reminds us that Firmicus Maternus reports the burial of an image of Osiris in the hollow of a tree.

This brief description of rituals and beliefs of the agricultural population of western Asia could well be augmented by similar material from the Greek world. The three great deities Dionysus, Demeter, and Persephone⁴⁴² represent the Hellenic conception of the decay and revival of nature and are the mythical originators of soil cultivation. The mysteries celebrated in their honour are universally regarded as the loftiest and most sublime of all the religions preceding Christianity.⁴⁴³ It was not difficult for the author of the standard work on the religion of nature to collect a great deal of material on corn-gods and goddesses all over the world,⁴⁴⁴ following the example of an earlier scholar who had treated the agricultural cults of the Germanic peoples.⁴⁴⁵

8. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN WORLD RELIGIONS

A. ASIA

Having reviewed the concepts and customs of higher religions in relation to social stratification and differentiation by occupation, rank, and wealth, we will now turn our attention again to the great world religions. The more advanced the process of social and cultural differentiation, the more diversified are the forms of religious expression. Christianity, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism, each of them forming one great religious community, are highly diversified economically, socially, and culturally. Yet there is an important difference. Hinduism is ethnically heterogeneous but politically—now—united; Confucianism is ethnically and politically rather homogeneous. Hindu and Confucian societies are also national units,

⁴⁴⁰ Erman, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 ff., 377 ff.

⁴⁴¹ Frazer, *Adonis*, chap. iii.

⁴⁴² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vols. VII and VIII, "Spirits of the Corn", chaps. i and ii; Farnell, *The Cults*, V, 4, 5, on Dionysus.

⁴⁴³ Cf. above, chap. v, sec. 3.

⁴⁴⁴ Frazer, *Adonis*, chaps. v and vi on the corn-mother in northern Europe and in many other lands.

⁴⁴⁵ Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vols. X, XI, Part VII, pp. 1, 2; Balder the Beautiful (1913); Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, on medieval English rural plays (representing fertility spirits) and ceremonies (May game, sword dance, winter festival).

whereas Islam, Buddhism, and Christianity extend over a vast conglomeration of peoples and nations.⁴⁴⁶ In time national variants of these great cultic units developed and expressed themselves distinctively through peculiarities in thought, worship, and organization. Whereas it would not be difficult to characterize many primitive and several of the higher religions according to their dominant cultural, social, and psychological features, it becomes increasingly difficult if not impossible to do the same in the case of the founded religions. It is highly doubtful whether Confucianism, in our days undergoing a period of mortal crisis, could be uniformly described as a religion of the literati, or Mohammedanism as a religion of warriors, or Buddhism as a religion of intellectuals. Although the politically or socially most powerful group might impress its mould upon the cult as a whole, this dominance exists only to a limited extent, because none of the great religions to-day is confined to the poor, to the rich, to the noble class, to the middle class, or to the proletariat. In Buddhism, for example, there are sharp social and economic differences, particularly within the Mahayana groups. Each of the great religions had a profound influence upon that part of society which it was capable of winning over first. As it grew and began to embrace the majority of people of a nation or country, it too became subdivided into various economic, social, and cultural interest groups.⁴⁴⁷ New concepts, practices, and forms were developed by the great religious bodies in answer to special local and social needs and requirements.⁴⁴⁸ With favourable conditions, new cultic groups expanded; they shrank under the pressure of unfavourable conditions.

⁴⁴⁶ On the influence of the national factor on the history of Christianity (East and West; rise of nationalism and national reformations, nation and denominationalism, institutionalism) cf. the works cited in the notes to our chap. vii, and esp. Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity*; Dill, *Roman Society*; Joseph Cullen Ayer, "On the Mediaeval National Church", *PASCH*, IV (1914), 39 ff.

⁴⁴⁷ See the history of missions of Buddhism and of the heterogeneous societies it conquered and controlled (cf. notes to chap. vi, secs. 5 ff., 10 ff.; cf. also the survey in Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1927 ff.), Vol. III, Book 6).

⁴⁴⁸ Thus Niebuhr attempts to describe the "churches of the disinherited", the "churches of the middle class", the "churches of the immigrants" in America (*Social Sources*, chaps. ii-iv, viii). Gillin, "Sociology of Sects", *AJS*, XVI (1910), 247, emphasizes the conservative character of the religion of the lower classes of the population. On rural religion, cf. above, sec. 7. For a monograph on religious and social developments in a New England state, see David M. Ludlow, *Social Ferment in Vermont (1791-1850)* ("Columbia University Studies in American Culture" (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939)), esp. chap. viii.

For an example of regional, racial, and social differentiation, cf. North American Negro society. On the economic factor in Negro religion, see below, nn. 527-33; in Negro sectarianism see Raymond, Julius Jones, *A Comparative Study of Religious Cult*

Aspects of Christianity, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, and Buddhism were modified and transformed during the various phases of the civilizations which they dominated or influenced. There are differences between the *Islam* of the *ashab*, or the first followers of the Arabian prophet, and the Abbaside caliphate, with its refined culture; between the Mohammedan Berber states in North Africa or kingdoms in the Sudan and the Ottoman empire of the nineteenth century; or between modern Syria and Egypt on the one hand and Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan on the other; between those countries and periods where it was developed in its purest form, assuming absolute control, and in those where it appears mixed and in a minority.⁴⁴⁹ The message of Mohammed was direct and forceful, the theological and ethical norms of his community were strict and well defined, and the ideal of the Mohammedan society did not lack utopian features.⁴⁵⁰ Yet in practice Islam has proved itself to be adaptable to a variety of environments and circumstances.⁴⁵¹ Mohammedan society exists under vastly different forms of government and includes all types of professional activity and the widest range of wealth and rank.⁴⁵²

Hinduism, an even more compactly socio-political and religious system than Islam, also developed from a comparatively simple society into an extremely complex social structure characterized not only by the sternness of its hierarchy but also by the tenacious conservatism and traditionalism of all the strata of society it

Behavior among Negroes ("Harvard University Studies in the Social Sciences", Vol. II, No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1939)), chap. iii; Robert Allerton Parker, *The Incredible Messiah: The Deification of Father Divine* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1937), chaps. ii, xii-xiii; and esp. below, n. 532.

⁴⁴⁹ The outstanding studies on the spread of Islam into different countries are: Thomas Walker Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (Luzac, 1913); Carl Heinrich Becker, "The Expansion of the Saracens", *CMedH*, Vol. II, chaps. xi and xii; Arnold, "Muslim Civilization during the Abbasid Period", *CMedH*, Vol. IV, chap. x. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1937). For contemporary Islam see below, chap. vii, sec. 2, and notes. Cf. Hans Kohn, *History of Nationalism*, chaps. ii, vii-x; Samuel Marinus Zwemer, *Across the World of Islam: Studies in Aspects of the Muhammedan Faith* (Oliphants, 1929), esp. chaps. ix-xiii ("Islam in Africa", "East India", "Persia", "Russia", "India Today").

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. T. J. de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam* (Stuttgart: Fr. Frommann, 1901), pp. 160 ff., 177 ff.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. the masterly exposition by Carl Heinrich Becker, "Christianity and Islam, Past and Present", *RR*, I, 3 ff.

⁴⁵² Albert Eustace Haydon, *Modern Trends in World Religions*, chaps. i, xi, xiii, xix; Zwemer, *op. cit.*; Kohn, *Nationalism and Imperialism*, who discusses the sociological changes in Hither Asia (chap. iii: "Classes and Estates") as well as political, social, and religious conditions in the respective countries (chaps. v-x). Cf. Kohn's *Orient and Occident* (New York: John Day Co., 1934), pp. 59 ff., 60 ff., and William Thomson, "The Renaissance of Islam", *HTHR*, XXX (1937), 51 ff.

includes. But here, also, we find, in practice, compromises and adaptations which run counter to the expectations of logical theory. Within Hinduism there always has been room for a tremendous heterogeneity of opinions, customs, and organizations as long as they are in agreement on fundamental principles. Nowhere is there a wider gulf between the rich and poor than on Indian soil; nowhere have professional activities been so firmly established and standardized. Based ultimately on the Hindu conception of *dharma*, the universal cosmic, moral, and ritual law, differences in rank, honour, and prestige have on Indian soil not only historical but also metaphysical and religious significance.⁴⁵³ India to-day has finally entered the same critical period of secularization which has beset the entire oriental world, and it remains to be seen how successfully Hinduism, in spite of all its wide variety of traditional and modern differentiation, will be able once again to serve as an integrating factor in Indian society.⁴⁵⁴

The economic, social, and denominational differences in Hinduism were not without effect upon the great "heterodox" faith which originated in India, only to leave its boundaries soon. The religion of the *Buddha* has all through its later history undergone a process of national diversification. The various Buddhist countries⁴⁵⁵ are culturally on very different levels.⁴⁵⁶ Japan compared to Tibet and Siam compared to Mongolia represent the widest ranges of economic, social, and educational contrast. Chinese Buddhism has never been a unified social and ideological group; it is a prototype of the variegated stratification in Buddhist society. Differences in occupation, property, and rank, less legitimate in Buddhism than in Hinduism, yet more or less clearly developed in all countries conquered by the gospel of the Enlightened One, are expressed differently in north-eastern and southern Asia, in old feudal and modern

⁴⁵³ Cf. for the contrast of the religion in higher strata of society and that of the common people Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born*, esp. Part I; and see also Crooke, *Popular Religion in Northern India*, esp. chaps. ii, iii, vi.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Alfred Clair Underwood, *Contemporary Thought of India* (London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1930); Nicol Macnicol, *The Making of Modern India* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1924), and his "Religious Values of Contemporary Indian Nationalism", *RR*, I (1936), 17 ff.

⁴⁵⁵ Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*; James Bissett Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage* (Macmillan, 1928).

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. the analysis of modern Siamese Buddhism in Virginia McLean Thompson, *Thailand: The New Siam* ("Institute of Pacific Relations, International Research Series" (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941)), chap. xviii, esp. pp. 630 ff.; and of Burmese in John Leroy Christian, *Modern Burma: A Survey of Political and Economic Developments* ("Institute of Pacific Relations" (Cambridge University Press, 1942)), chap. xi.

industrialized China and Japan, in independent Nepal and foreign-ruled Cambodia or Java. In other words, Buddhism as a mass movement has to a very great extent lost the stamp of the social background from which it sprang.⁴⁵⁷ It may be true that an "aristocratic" feature can be discerned in the religion which the prince of Sakya founded two and a half millenniums ago and that Buddhist doctrine, theology, and philosophy betray the dominating activity of scholarly and highly intellectual minds; nevertheless, there is no occupational or social group in eastern Asia which is not represented in Buddhism.

B. EUROPE

The world religions so far mentioned are Asiatic religions, and their development, of necessity, has been bound to the physical, spiritual, political, cultural, economic, technical, social, and moral conditions of Asia. The West, under which we may include Russia, has had a different fate, and its unique history, a result of factors which cannot be examined here, has produced conditions of a character totally different from those in the East. When Christianity, destined to become the leading religion of the West, conquered Europe, several layers of civilization had already preceded it, laying a foundation upon which Christian society could be erected. Greek thought and Roman institutions⁴⁵⁸ were incorporated into the complex culture which originated in the Roman-Germanic world.

The first phase of early Christian society was determined by the social, economic, and cultural conditions of the late Roman Empire, to which the new Christian community had to adapt itself. Recent studies have shed considerable light on the gradual process of differentiation within the early Christian church from the time that Paul became the decisive guide and leader.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. James Thayer Addison, "Religious Life in Japan", *HThR*, XVIII (1925), esp. pp. 333 ff., on educational, missionary, and philanthropic activities.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. H. J. Roby, "Roman Law", *CMedH*, Vol. II, chap. iii; also *The Legacy of Rome*, ed. C. Bailey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), and *The Legacy of Greece*, ed. Sir R. W. Livingstone (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921).

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. above, chap. v, secs. 8 and 9, and esp. Dill, *Roman Society*; Troeltsch, *Sozial-lehren*; Shirley J. Case, *The Social Origins of Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923); *The Social Triumph of the Ancient Church* (Allen & Unwin, 1933); Rostovtzeff, *Economic History*; Cecil John Cadoux, *The Early Church and the World* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1925); George H. C. MacGregor-Purdy, *Jew and Greek Tutors unto Christ* (Nicholson & Watson, 1936); Thomas Martin Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries* (2nd ed.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903); Latour-ette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity*; Albert Hyma, *Christianity, Capitalism and Communism* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: G. Wahr, 1927); Charles N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).

The *second* phase of Christian society is marked by the establishment of feudal medieval Europe, whose system of stratification is, at least in its formal aspects, paralleled in other civilizations. Christianity, which originally drew its adherents largely from the lower classes, had already begun a process of self-transformation as it made inroads on the upper classes of Imperial Rome, and this process was accentuated with the recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the state.

A new factor entered the situation with the conversion of the Germanic tribes⁴⁶⁰ and the development of a feudal order⁴⁶¹ of medieval society.⁴⁶² Its hierarchy,⁴⁶³ as well as its professional, economic, and social organization, was reflected in peculiarities of worship and religious association. Although there existed but one faith, one cult, one church, the religious conceptions and practices of the knight, the monk, the peasant, and the day labourer were far from identical. The veneration of the Virgin and the saints allowed local or professional groups to develop theories of special guardianship and protection. Particular forms of devotion would rally the subjects of a feudal lord or territorial ruler.⁴⁶⁴ Vocational associations also functioned as cultic units,⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁰ On the conversion of the Celts and Teutons see Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*; *CMedH*, Vol. II, chaps. xv and xvi; Hans von Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1921 ff.); cf. "Eigenkirche" (art.), in *RGK*, II, 55 ff.; Archibald G. Baker (ed.), *A Short History of Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), chap. iii.

⁴⁶¹ Paul Vinogradoff, "Feudalism", in *CMedH*, Vol. II, chap. xx; Vol. III, chap. xviii. Cf. the excellent analysis in Gerd T. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, in "Studies in Mediaeval History", ed. Geoffrey Barraclough, trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1940), esp. chap. iii.

⁴⁶² *CMedH*, VII, 716 ff.; James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, *An Introduction to Mediaeval Europe* (Allen & Unwin, 1937); J. W. Thompson, *Economic History*; "Feudalism", "Manorialism", and "Guild" (art.), in *ESS*; Carl Stephenson, *Mediaeval Feudalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1942).

⁴⁶³ On the bishop as civil servant, soldier, and economic administrator cf. Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, *The Secular Activities of the German Episcopate (919-1024)* ("University of Nebraska Studies", Vol. XXX (Lincoln, 1930)), and E. W. Watson, "The Development of Ecclesiastical Organization", in *CMedH*, Vol. VI, chap. XVI, pp. 528 ff.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf., for the expression of the religious and ethical ideals of medieval knighthood, "Chivalry" in *CMedH*, Vol. VI, chap. xxiv; Gustav Ehrismann, "Die Grundlagen des ritterlichen Tugendsystems" in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, XL (1918), 137 ff.; Hans Naumann, "Ritterliche Standeskultur um 1200" in *Höfische Kultur* (Halle (Saale): M. Niemeyer, 1929); Günther Müller, "Gradualismus" in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte* (Halle (Saale): M. Niemeyer, 1924), II, 681 ff.; Hermann Schneider, "Heldendichtung, Geistlichen-dichtung, Ritterdichtung", in Albert Köster and Julius Petersen, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1925).

⁴⁶⁵ Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages* (4th ed.; London: Macmillan & Co., 1930), I, 335 ff., 340 ff.; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, IV, 6; V, 6; see above, sec. 6.

and new organizations, devotional, cultural, artistic, and social, were founded for religious purposes. The official Christianity of the early Middle Ages distinctly reflects the spirit of the two leading groups, the knighthood and the clergy.⁴⁶⁶ With the rise of the bourgeoisie,⁴⁶⁷ a new element made itself felt in the church life, especially in the towns. This phase of church history has recently been carefully examined.⁴⁶⁸

Towards the end of the Middle Ages yet another social group enters the picture. Peasantry, which had not as yet played an active role in Christian society, was prepared to advocate radical transformation in society to conform with the ideals born of their economic and social distress.⁴⁶⁹

Another main phase, the *third*, in the history of Christian society is ushered in with the breakdown of Christian unity that followed the downfall of the medieval political, social, and spiritual world. The Renaissance, the Reformation, and humanism⁴⁷⁰ helped build a type of Western civilization which is—only since that time—really *sui generis*. Prevalent conceptions of nature and society underwent radical modifications.⁴⁷¹ The new scientific outlook fomented a revolution in the traditional Weltanschauung and made possible progressive control over the forces of nature by means of modern technology and industrialization.⁴⁷² Society could no longer be conceived of in terms of *corpus Christianum* and had to be interpreted in terms analogous to those applied

⁴⁶⁶ Sidney Herbert Mellone, *Western Christian Thought in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Co., 1935); Taylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chaps. xxiii-xxvii (fealty, courtesy, piety, chivalry). For the later period: J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London: E. Arnold & Co., 1924), esp. chaps. iv-vii; Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* (Kegan Paul, 1929), chap. ii.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. Henry Stanley Bennett, *Life on the English Manor: A Study of Peasant Conditions 1150-1400* (Cambridge University Press, 1937), esp. chaps. i and xii.

⁴⁶⁸ Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, trans. Frank D. Halsey (Oxford University Press, 1925); Sombart, *Quintessence of Capitalism*; Carl Brinkmann, "Bourgeois" (art.), in *ESS*, I, 654 ff.; Mecklin, *The Passing of the Saint*, chap. ix. On guilds cf. above, sec. 6.

⁴⁶⁹ Eileen E. Power, "Peasant Life and Rural Conditions", *CMedH*, VII, 716 ff.; Henry Charles Lee, "The Eve of the Reformation" (*CMH*, Vol. I, chap. xix); Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation* (Jonathan Cape, 1920), esp. chaps. xiv, x, and xii; Henry Maynard Smith, *Pre-Reformation England* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1938), chaps. iv, v.

⁴⁷⁰ *CMedH*, Vol. VII, chap. xxv; *CMH*, Vol. II; Henry Stephen Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1934); James MacKinnon, *The Origins of the Reformation* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939); Hyma, *Christianity and Politics*, chap. ii.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. particularly the studies of Wilhelm Dilthey, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 16 ff., 39 ff.; Weber, *G.A.*; and the works cited in chap. vii, nn. 59 and 184.

⁴⁷² On the economic changes see *CMedH*, Vol. VII, chap. xxiii, p. 24, and *ibid.*, Vol. I, chap. xv.

to the realm of nature.⁴⁷³ Instead of one, there grew up a plurality of conceptions of the normative Christian society, the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and various nonconformist versions⁴⁷⁴ proving most effective. Concomitantly, modern Europe finds greater and greater numbers abandoning traditional religion, especially in Protestantism,⁴⁷⁵ in the wake of a wave of radical secularization.⁴⁷⁶

Sixteenth and seventeenth-century society, both the masses and the leading classes, had clung to Christian ideals notwithstanding the great disparity between their views and their practices.⁴⁷⁷ But this unity of thought was not to last. It has been noted that the increase of mystical piety during this period presaged the first symptoms of a strong religious individualism.⁴⁷⁸ It was counterbalanced by the formation of groups strangely resembling the mystery-society type (Rosicrucians, etc.).⁴⁷⁹ With enlightenment came mass estrangement from Christianity among the leading classes in the Western countries.⁴⁸⁰ This trend was even

⁴⁷³ Cf. the brilliant characterization by Dilthey, "Das natürliche System", in *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 129 ff., 246 ff.; John Neville Figgis, "Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century", *CMH*, III, 736 ff.; John William Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Methuen & Co., 1941).

⁴⁷⁴ Cf., for the latter two, Johannes Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung* (Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1923), esp. chap. i. For the former: Allen, *op. cit.*, analysing the political concepts of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists in the role of majorities and minorities and the resulting theories of government. Cf. above, chap. ii, secs. 10 ff.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, esp. chap. ii; Johannes Baptist Kraus, *Scholastik, Puritanismus und Kapitalismus* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1936), Sec. II; Hyma, *Christianity, Capitalism and Puritanism*; Marshall Mason Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Cambridge University Press, 1939), chap. xxii; and the works cited in chap. v, n. 295.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Arthur Lionel Smith, "English Political Philosophy in the 17th and 18th Centuries", *CMH*, Vol. VI; Wilbur Kitchener Jordan, *The Development of Religious Tolerance in England* (4 vols.; Allen & Unwin); also his *Men of Substance: A Study of the Thought of Two English Revolutionaries, Henry Parker and Henry Robinson* (Cambridge University Press, 1942); and below, n. 480.

⁴⁷⁷ Carl Brinkmann in *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1925), Part IX, Sec. I; Charles William Chadwick Oman, *The Sixteenth Century* (Methuen, 1936), esp. chap. iv; David Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century* (2nd ed.; London: A. & C. Black, 1931), esp. chap. i.

⁴⁷⁸ M. Kaufmann, "Latitudinarianism and Pietism", *CMH*, Vol. V, chap. xxiv.

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. Lepper, *Famous Secret Societies*, chaps. xiv and xv (Rosicrucians, Illuminati); Noel Pitts Gist, *Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States* ("University of Missouri Studies", Vol. XV (Columbia, Mo., 1940)), chap. vi (Freemasonry, etc.).

⁴⁸⁰ Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 40 ff., 210 ff.; Troeltsch, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. IV, chap. iv: "Die moderne Welt"; Bernhard Gröthuisen, *Die Entstehung der bürgerlichen Lebens und Weltanschauung in Frankreich* (Halle (Saale): M. Niemeyer, 1927 ff.); "Rationalism" (art.), in *ESS*, VII, 113 ff.; John Orr, *English Deism: Its Roots and Its Fruits* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans' Pub. Co., 1934). Cf. also Henri Brémont, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1916 ff.), trans. *A Literary History of Religious Thought in France from the Wars of Religion down to Our Times* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1928 ff.).

more noticeable in the abandonment of traditional forms of worship than in the secularization of the theoretical outlook on life or in the ethical norms of judgment and conduct.⁴⁸¹ During the eighteenth century this process, working from the upper classes downward, continued to exert its pressure on the traditionally Christian bourgeoisie. What began as the frivolity of court circles and the scepticism of the isolated philosopher or *homme d'affaires* became a mortal crisis for Christianity with the development of industry and the consequent rise of a proletarian class in the cities. Christian religion lost its grip on the masses. Heroic efforts by official organizations of the various church bodies as well as by private initiative⁴⁸² to stem the tide of secularism failed, as every denomination found its influence steadily diminishing.⁴⁸³ The rural population and the petty bourgeoisie provided a partial stop-gap with steadfast resistance to anti-religious propaganda, to the wave of indifference flowing from the cities, and to the introduction of new standards and habits (cf. above, sec. 7). As can be expected, the process of dechurching developed at different tempos and different intensities, depending on economic, political, and cultural conditions of the particular areas. The Roman Catholic church, on the one hand, and some of the smaller independent and sectarian groups, on the other, offered a more determined resistance.

In *England*⁴⁸⁴ a series of progressive movements of partly religious and partly secular character, organized as religious societies inside and outside the established church catering for the under-privileged,⁴⁸⁵ laid the groundwork for the foundation of the

⁴⁸¹ Cf. the discussion of federal theology as a symptom of the change in European thought from status to contract in Perry Miller, *New England Mind*, chap. xiv.

⁴⁸² Cf. Mecklin, *The Passing of the Saint*, chap. ix: "The Saint and the Middle Class".

⁴⁸³ Arthur Cushman McGiffert, *The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), traces the process of "disintegration" (pietism, enlightenment, natural sciences, critical philosophy) and "reconstruction". Also, Herbert Leslie Stewart, *Modernism, Past and Present* (London: J. Murray, 1932), chaps. v ff.

⁴⁸⁴ John Henry Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century from 1714-1800* (London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1906); Herbert Hensley Henson, *The Church of England* (Cambridge University Press, 1939), esp. chap. i; John Wickham Legg, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement* (London, 1914); Robert Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (2nd ed.: London, 1877); Thomas Cuming Hall, *The Social Meaning of Modern Religious Movements in England* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900); Clement Charles Julian Webb, *A Study of Religious Thought in England from 1850* ("Olaus Petri Lectures" (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933)); William George Peck, *The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933); Cyril Kennard Gloyn, *The Church and the Social Order: A Study of Anglican Social Theory from Coleridge to Maurice* (Forest Grove, Ore.: Pacific University, 1942).

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. above, n. 475. Maurice B. Reckitt, *Faith and Society* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1932), chaps. i-v.

Methodist movement in the eighteenth century, with its special appeal to the workmen of an industrial age.⁴⁸⁶ The groups which arise in response to the peculiar needs of an industrial era are of an extremely variegated nature, ranging from associations purely or predominantly religious to those predominantly or exclusively political or economic.⁴⁸⁷ In *Germany*⁴⁸⁸ the Marxist concept of a classless society purged of all religious notions, which were still apparent with the early revolutionaries (Weitling), won over large elements of the labouring groups and alienated them from the state church, which was too slow to reintegrate them into the existing order of society. The Methodist movement had no counterpart in Germany, Pietism proving itself incapable of imbuing the patriarchal society of its day with sufficient vitality to withstand, later on, the combined onslaughts of philosophical, political and economic radicalism. Roman Catholicism, on the other hand, was better attuned to the needs of the masses and, in accordance with its traditional policy, allowed or even encouraged the formation of special agencies and societies, such as the Catholic labour movement, while the Protestant Inner Mission Movement, on the one hand, and the Religious Socialists, on the other,⁴⁸⁹ proved completely inadequate to organize and integrate their followers. In the formation of the new associations to represent labour's interests in the national socialist state,⁴⁹⁰ secularist principles alone prevailed.

C. AMERICA

In the United States of America⁴⁹¹ the Declaration of Inde-

⁴⁸⁶ Witt Bowden, *Industrial Society in England toward the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925).

⁴⁸⁷ Robert F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Working Class Movement of England* (London: Epworth Press, 1937); Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unions* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911).

⁴⁸⁸ For Germany in the nineteenth century see Wilhelm Lüttger, *Die Religion des deutschen Idealismus und ihr Ende* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1925), esp. Vol. III; Werner Elert, *Der Kampf um das Christentum* (1921); Carl Schweitzer, *Das religiöse Deutschland* (1928); Kerr Duncan Macmillan, *Protestantism in Germany* (Oxford University Press, 1917); Henry Somerville, *Studies in the Catholic Social Movement* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 1933).

⁴⁸⁹ For its programme cf. Paul Tillich, "Religiöser Sozialismus" (art.), in *RGG*, V, 637 ff.

⁴⁹⁰ Taylor Cole, "The Evolution of the German Labor Front", *Political Science Quarterly*, LI (1937), 532 ff.

⁴⁹¹ American church history: Peter George Mode, *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Pub. Co., 1921); William Warren Sweet, "Church Archives in the United States", *ChH*, VIII (1939), 43 ff.; Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity* (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1911); Charles A. and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*

pendence marked a significant epoch⁴⁹² in church-state relations whose import will be assessed below (chap. vii). Disestablishment of all cult—though only slowly carried out in practice—was to ensure the freedom of religious association.⁴⁹³ The state was to be concerned only with the social and not with the theological character of religious organizations, and, as a result, all groups, regardless of how they defined themselves (covenant, church, etc.), are officially classified as religious societies. Complete freedom is given each group to disseminate religious propaganda.⁴⁹⁴

American religious movements provide us with a number of problems. They originate with the change and transformation discussed throughout this paragraph and illustrate the effect of general and regional intellectual, economic, social, and cultural developments upon the various religious groups in the United States. They have powerfully contributed to the making and shaping of these developments. Their history is part of the general history of the country. William Warren Sweet has recently called religion the most neglected phase of American history.⁴⁹⁵ The chapters which deal with the appreciation of the role of religion in Charles Austin Beard's history of American civilization and in Vernon Louis Parrington's history of American

(Cape, 1930); Thomas Cuming Hall, *The Religious Background of American Culture* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1930); Henry Kalloch Rowe, *The History of Religion in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924); William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, Vol. I: *The Baptists* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931); Vol. II: *The Presbyterians* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1936); Vol. III: *The Congregationalists* (Cambridge University Press, 1939); *Religion in Colonial America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942); Frank Hugh Foster, *A Genetic History of New England Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907); Herbert Wallace Schneider, *The Puritan Mind: Studies in Religion and Culture* ("American Religion Series" (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930)); Joseph Haroutunian, *Piety versus Moralism: The Passing of the New England Theology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1932); Paris Marion Simms, *The Bible in America* (New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1936); William Adams Brown, *Church and State in Contemporary America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936); Charles Luther Fry, *The United States Looks at Its Churches* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930); and the works cited in chap. vii, sec. 12, n. 184.

⁴⁹² The analogy in the principles of Puritan New England's federal theology (contractualism) and in those underlying the Declaration is pointed out in Miller, *The New England Mind*, pp. 409 ff.

⁴⁹³ Cf. the important summary in Carl Zollman, *American Civil Church Law* ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law", Vol. LXXVII, No. 181 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911)).

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. i. Protected against any acts of federal or state government, the American citizen is "free to formulate religious opinions, to practice and teach them with the provision that he respect the rights of others" (p. 36). Cf. there the enumeration of the benefits the "prevailing" religion—Christianity—enjoys (corporation right, protection from disturbance of worship, tax exemption, use of school buildings) (*ibid.*, chaps. ii, ix ff.).

⁴⁹⁵ Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, Preface.

literature leave much to be desired.⁴⁹⁶ Each of the great periods of the history of American religion has its peculiar problems for the sociologist of religion. The first, the age of settlement, has been well explored, both for Catholicism and for Protestantism. The second, orthodoxy, has only recently found a fairer and less biased treatment than was possible in the last century. Of great sociological significance have been recent attempts at a revaluation of New England Puritanism (Samuel Morison, Perry Miller, Raymond P. Stearns)⁴⁹⁷ and research in religious conditions in the Middle Colonies (Pennsylvania)⁴⁹⁸ and in the South.⁴⁹⁹ The peculiarly American type of religious emotionalism and revivalism, one of the characteristics of the third period, has attracted the attention of historians and psychologists, but lacks understanding sociological treatment.⁵⁰⁰ The Great Awakening,⁵⁰¹ which followed the decline of orthodoxy, could not stem the tide in the age of "Enlightenment". The influence of Continental rationalism and deism upon American Christianity was profound.⁵⁰² It met

⁴⁹⁶ Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization and America in Midpassage* (Cape, 1939); Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginning to 1920* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930-39).

⁴⁹⁷ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.; Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1930), and *The Puritan Pronaos: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: New York University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1936); Raymond P. Stearns, "Assessing the New England Mind", *ChH*, X (1941), 246 ff.; Perry Miller, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650: A Genetic Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934), and *The New England Mind and The Puritans*; Sanford Fleming, *Children and Puritanism: The Place of Children in the Life and Thought of New England Churches, 1620-1847* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1933).

⁴⁹⁸ Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938); Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942); Lars P. Qualben, *The Lutheran Church in Colonial America* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1940).

⁴⁹⁹ Reba Carolyn Strickland, *Religion and State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century* ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law", No. 460 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939)); Leah Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists, 1670-1805* (Florence, S.C.: Florence Printing Co., 1935); Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, chap. ii.

⁵⁰⁰ For revivalism cf. above, chap. v, sec. 10.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. above, chap. v, n. 261.

⁵⁰² Herbert Monford Morais, *Deism in Eighteenth Century America* ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law", No. 397 (New York: Columbia University Press; London: P. S. King & Son, 1934)), chap. ii: "The European Background"; see above, n. 480; Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, pp. 334 ff. on "The Unchurched Liberals"; Francis Albert Christie, "The Beginnings of Arminianism in New England", *PASChH*, III (1912), 151 ff.; cf. also above, chap. v, n. 437; David McWilliams Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 25 ff.; Charles Roy Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* ("Yale Historical Publications", Vol. XL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942)), chaps. i, ii.

with a natural inclination in this direction in many of the leaders in the political, social, and religious life of American society in the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. As on the Continent, a reaction, inspired by renewed religious fervour and interest among intellectuals as well as in the lower middle and rural classes, followed. This second revival, the character and effects of which we tried to characterize previously (above, chap. v, sec. 10), exerted its influence long after its acute phase had come to an end. A tradition of revivalistic technique, leadership, and grouping developed, leading up to a third climax in the middle of the nineteenth century⁵⁰³ and affecting denominations and sects, white and negro, alike. The liberalism and individualism of the same period, reflected in the intellectualism of Unitarian and Transcendentalist philosophy, on the whole less fruitful for positive sociological work, has been thoroughly investigated by the historians of thought and literature, through which it has found its primary expression. The social background of its leadership begins to attract the attention of the sociologist of literature.⁵⁰⁴

The fourth period is characterized by the secularization of Protestantism, the impact of modern science and philosophy⁵⁰⁵ and of the industrial development upon American religious life,⁵⁰⁶ but also by the reaction to the latter in fundamentalism,⁵⁰⁷ socio-religious utopian sectarianism,⁵⁰⁸ and the movement of the social

⁵⁰³ The similarities in the three phases of American revivalism are striking. For the third and its leaders cf. Frederick Morgan Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1905), pp. 180-181 (on Nettleton and on Finney and Moody); Frank Grenville Beardsley, *Heralds of Salvation: Biographical Sketches of Outstanding Soul Winners* (New York: American Tract Society, 1939), chaps. vii-xv, and *Religious Progress through Revivals* (New York: American Tract Society, 1943).

⁵⁰⁴ Parrington, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Book III; Victor Francis Calverton, *The Liberation of American Literature* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932). Cf. above, chap. ii, n. 237.

⁵⁰⁵ Andrew Dickson White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (New York and London: D. Appleton & Co., 1896, 1917); Sir William Cecil Dampier, *A History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion* (New York: Macmillan Co.; Cambridge University Press, 1938, 1942); Joseph Needham, *Science, Religion and Reality*; Harris Franklin Rall, *Christianity* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), chaps. vi and xvi.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. the biting criticism in Thorstein Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the History of Institutions* (Allen & Unwin, 1924), chap. xii: "Devout Observances"; Maurice C. Latta, "The Background for the Social Gospel in American Protestantism", *CH*, V (1936), 256 ff.

⁵⁰⁷ Stewart Grant Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (New York: R. R. Smith, 1931).

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. above, chap. v, nn. 502 ff., chap. vi, n. 532; Robert Allerton Parker, *A Yankee Saint: John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935); Marguerite F. Melcher, *The Shaker Adventure* (Oxford University Press, 1941).

gospel.⁵⁰⁹ Concentration of capital and organization of labour forced the American—as the European—Christian groups to take a stand, to define their attitude, and to help practically in removing the causes and alleviating the hardships of social struggle and antagonism.⁵¹⁰

The fifth period, beginning with the first World War, faced the same situation but accentuated difficulties; it had to meet concentrated hostility to religion in its organized and unorganized forms, but was strengthened by overcoming dissension within the different denominational groups, seeking more fundamental solutions by revising its theological approach,⁵¹¹ and reorganizing its group life.

The contributions of the different denominations to the first peculiarly American type of religion, frontier religion, the characteristic features of this frontier religion,⁵¹² and its part in the building-up of the country have been carefully studied by Leonard Woolsey Bacon and others and more recently by William Warren Sweet.⁵¹³ The peculiar environment and the type of life which the pioneers had to live, the social, economic, and cultural conditions, produced a type of religion which has recently been well characterized⁵¹⁴ as based on fear—fear of the enemy, of starvation, and of the elements, as favourable to excessive credulity, responsible for the spreading of peculiar cults (Shakers, Mormons, Millerites, Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Baptists),⁵¹⁵ as prone

⁵⁰⁹ Shailer Mathews, "The Development of Social Christianity in America", in *Religious Thought in the Last Quarter Century*, ed. Gerald Birney Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 228 ff.; Charles H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism* ("Yale Studies in Religious Education", Vol. XIV (Oxford University Press, 1940)).

⁵¹⁰ Cf. Latta, *op. cit.*, analysing conditions created by the process of industrialization and the coming of socialism and the reaction of theologians and ministers interested in social amelioration. Cf. also James Dombrowski, *The Early Development of Christian Socialism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), and Reckitt, *Faith and Society*, chap. vi.

⁵¹¹ For Continental influences see Walter Marshall Horton, *Contemporary English Theology: An American Interpretation* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1936) and *Contemporary Continental Theology: An Interpretation for Anglo-Saxons* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1938); Douglas Clyde Macintosh, *Social Religion* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939).

⁵¹² Heinrich H. Maurer, "Studies in the Sociology of Religion. II: Religion and American Sectionalism", *AJS*, XXX (1924), 408 ff.; M. E. Gaddis, "Religious Ideas and Attitudes in the Early Frontier", *ChH*, II (1923), 152 ff.; Mary Ramona Mattingly, *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier* ("Catholic University Studies", Vol. XXV (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1936)), pp. 188 ff.; Charles Arthur Hawley, "Swedenborgianism on the Frontier", *ChH*, VI (1937), 203 ff.; Elizabeth Kristine Nottingham, *Methodism and the Frontier Indians Proving Ground* (Oxford University Press, 1941).

⁵¹³ Cf. above, n. 491.

⁵¹⁴ Gaddis, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 ff.

⁵¹⁵ Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont*, chap. viii: "Social Architects", on religious and social millenarianism. Cf. also Bates, *American Faith*, Book IV; Clark, *Small Sects*.

to a profound consciousness of sin to be explained as reactions to the immoralities connected with frontier privations, as hostile or at least indifferent to higher education—in other words, as anti-intellectualism, emotionalism, and individualism.⁵¹⁶ Notwithstanding the aversion to speculation, there is much discussion on theological questions (emphasis on the concept of the Holy Ghost, of the devil, etc.). Sociologically significant is the “atomism” of frontier life, which means isolation from wider and more comprehensive social, national, and religious group life, reflected in the peculiar *Binnenreligion* (“closed” religion) of the room, house, or local camp meeting (revivalism),⁵¹⁷ and in attempts at the establishment of perfectionist communities.⁵¹⁸ Another significant feature is the characteristic ideal of sanctification (“holiness”) which determines ethics and through it individual and group conduct and mores. As far as religious functionaries go, equalitarianism (cf. chap. v, sec. 9) prevails. Characteristic is the itineracy of the Methodist preachers. Foreign observers, from Alexis de Tocqueville⁵¹⁹ to Max Weber,⁵²⁰ have attempted to study, evaluate, and interpret the role of religion and of denominational and sectarian differentiation in American society and culture.

An important factor contributing to religious and social differentiation in American society has been immigration. Different national and ethnic groups brought with them their religion, that is, definite religious concepts and ideas, forms of worship, and principles of association.⁵²¹ Their history is the object of studies from the linguistic, historical, and sociological points of view. In addition to well-defined denominational cults, some movements were imported into the New World from the Old (pietism, rationalism, socialism, “scienticism”). To assess their

⁵¹⁶ For a supplementary aspect, with emphasis on positive contributions, see above, chap. v, sec. 10.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. above, chap. v, sec. 10.

⁵¹⁸ For examples in German-American sectarianism in the Middle Colonies see Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708–1800: A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers* (Philadelphia: the Author, 1899); in New England settlements, above, n. 502.

⁵¹⁹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve (Cambridge: Severs & Francis, 1862), Vol. II, chap. v. Cf. the documents and letters in George Wilson Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 106–7, 153 ff.; and J. Wach, “The Role of Religion in the Social Philosophy of De Tocqueville” (1944).

⁵²⁰ Marianne Weber, *Max Weber* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1926), pp. 292 ff., 301–2.

⁵²¹ Cf. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, chaps. ii–viii; Qualben, *History of the Christian Church*, chaps. xxi ff. Cf. also below, n. 523.

influence in the formation of characteristic groups and movements in America⁵²² is the task of the sociologist of religion. Inasmuch as all these groups found themselves in the context of American life, their position in society had to be defined.

H. R. Niebuhr has examined thoroughly the question of what the various groups in the United States had to offer to the immigrant, the disinherited, and the coloured populations, a problem particularly urgent with the passing of the frontier period in American history.⁵²³ He has shown that not only bodies formerly established politically, like the Episcopalians or Presbyterians, but even nonconformist and sectarian groups, such as the Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, and Mennonites, eventually achieved a social status which was to affect unfavourably their appeal to the above-mentioned negatively privileged groups. However, American society, more so than the traditionally stratified European society, can be understood only in dynamic terms. Just as the immigrant of a quarter-century ago is the respected pillar of the community of to-day, so the Methodist bodies, the denominational group which in its incipient stages more than any other appealed to the lower classes of society, has undergone the process of achieving "respectability". Even Mormonism, an indigenous growth, faced the "dangers" of prosperity, but thanks to its strong socio-religious organization, has been able to cope with its problems successfully so far.⁵²⁴ Special attention should be given to the sociology of Roman Catholicism in the United States, which maintains its astonishing rate of growth, drawing its adherents from the gamut of social classes.⁵²⁵

A problem peculiar to the New World, and important for us

⁵²² A characteristic example is the establishment of the Ephrata monastic community in Pennsylvania under Pietistic influence. Cf. esp. Sachse, *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, chap. xx; Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel, Mystic and Martinet, 1690-1768* ("Pennsylvania Lives" (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960-1968)), esp. chap. vi; John Joseph Stout, "Count Zinzendorf and the Pennsylvania Congregation of God in the Spirit", *ChH*, IX (1940), 366 ff.

⁵²³ Niebuhr, *Sources of Denominationalism*, cf. Clark, *Small Sects*.

⁵²⁴ Cf. above, chap. v, nn. 482 ff.; Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, pp. 166 ff.

⁵²⁵ Jean Dilhet, *État de l'église catholique au diocèse des États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale*, trans. Rev. Patrick W. Browne ("Catholic University of America Studies in Church History", Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Salve Regina Press, 1922)); Donald Cornelius Shearer, *Pontificia Americana: A Documentary Study of the Catholic Church in the United States (1784-1844)* ("Catholic University of America Studies in Church History", Vol. XV (Washington, D.C.: Salve Regina Press, 1933)); Thomas O'Gorman, *A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, *ACHS*, Vol. IX (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1895); Charles Clinton Marshall, *The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State* (Faith Press, 1931); Theodore Maynard, *The Story of American Catholicism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941); John A. Ryan and Joseph Hunslein, *The Church and Labour* (Harding, 1920).

because of its religious implications, is presented by Negro life, society, and cults. Different conditions prevail in the southern and northern parts of the continent. The history of the Negro in the United States and of his religion has been thoroughly treated by Negro and white scholars.⁵²⁶ His African heritage is traceable in characteristic features of the American Negro religion.⁵²⁷

The abolition of slavery marks an epoch, but the problem of inter-racial relations is as yet not satisfactorily solved.⁵²⁸ The sociologist of religion is interested in the formation of ecclesiastical, independent, and sectarian groups and religious associations among the Negroes, which started with the intensification of missionary work among them by various denominational groups.⁵²⁹ The development of segregated Negro religious communities poses the problem of typical and characteristic features,⁵³⁰ to be answered with a view to local and regional conditions (rural and urban) and economic and social stratification.⁵³¹

A special problem deserving the attention of the sociologist of the American religions is Negro sectarianism, which shares certain features of sects in general and of American sects in particular. Certain other peculiar traits (leadership, spiritualism, ritual patterns, charismatic gifts) can be explained by the heritage of the Negro and by the conditions prevailing in the lower strata of Negro society.⁵³²

⁵²⁶ Richard Clark Reed, "A Sketch of the Religious History of the Negroes in the South", *PASCHH*, IV (1914), 177 ff.; Carter Goodwin Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (2nd ed.; Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1921); Joseph William Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York: Institute for Social and Religious Research, 1933).

⁵²⁷ Willis Duke Weatherford, *The Negro from Africa to America* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924); esp. chaps. iii, xii; Melville Jean Herskovits, *The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1928); *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1941), chap. vii: "Religion".

⁵²⁸ Willis Duke Weatherford, *Race Relations: Adjustment of Whites and Negroes in the United States* (Harrap, 1934).

⁵²⁹ On the mission of the different denominations among Negroes cf. Weatherford, *Race Relations*, chap. x (Quakers, pp. 188 ff.; Episcopalians, pp. 194 ff.; Presbyterians, pp. 197 ff.; Methodists, pp. 201 ff.; Baptists, pp. 210 ff.).

⁵³⁰ E. T. Krueger, "Negro Religious Expression", *AJS*, XXXVIII (1932-33), 22 ff.; Carter Goodwin Woodson, *The Negro Professional Man and the Community* (Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1934), chap. v.

⁵³¹ Cf. St. Clair Drake, *Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community*, with review of the problems of urban life, the forms of religious and secular associations (chap. i) among the Negroes of different status (pp. 214 ff.) and detailed description of their cults (pp. 183-84); weakness of denominational ties (p. 190); fluidity and mobility (p. 4); criticism of religions and religious groups (pp. 197 ff.).

⁵³² Jones, *Religious Cult Behaviour among Negroes*. First-hand descriptions of religious meetings of thirteen Negro sects appears in Appendix B. Characteristics in common with other evangelical groups, and peculiar features (pp. 2 ff.); revivalistic character (p. 56); African background (chap. iv); hierarchies (p. 23). Cf. monograph on Father Divine's Peace Mission: Parker, *The Incredible Messiah*.

No comparative systematic studies in types of religious leadership in the United States (hierarchy, academic theologian, itinerant minister, sectarian preacher) have been undertaken as yet;⁵³³ only individual biographies of leading religious personalities exist.⁵³⁴ The enormous variety of societies, associations, and clubs which characterizes American life is an inexhaustible mine for studies for the sociologist in general,⁵³⁵ as for the student of religious groups.⁵³⁶ Important material for sociological examination is available in recent studies on religious education. A variety of youth movements and organizations as they exist in most of the larger denominations deserve more attention by the sociologist of religion than they have found.

Ever since the rapid growth of the cities in the United States, sociologists have taken up the study of urban⁵³⁷ and rural religious attitudes,⁵³⁸ which are definite in the religious life of both town

⁵³³ They could be based on studies like William Wilson Manross, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840: A Study in Church Life* ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law", No. 441 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938)), and H. P. Douglass, *The Protestant Church as Social Institution* (Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1935), chap. vi.

⁵³⁴ Examples of such biographies of American religious leaders are (cf. also series under this title): Kenneth Ballard Murdock, *Increase Mather: The Foremost American Puritan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925); Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel*; William Wilberforce Newton, *Dr. Muhlenberg* (Boston, 1890); Eben Edwards Beardsley, *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury* (Boston, 1881); Charles E. Cunningham, *Timothy Dwight, 1752-1817* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942); Sidney Earl Mead, *Nathaniel William Taylor, 1786-1858: A Connecticut Liberal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942); Milton Read Hunter, *Brigham Young, The Colonizer* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1940); Mary A. Cheney, *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1880); Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1922); Allen Sinclair Will, *Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1911); Basil Joseph Mathews, *John Mott, World Citizen* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1934).

⁵³⁵ For a comprehensive survey of so-called American "secret societies", many of them with semi-religious ideals, cf. N. P. Gist, *Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States* ("University of Missouri Studies", Vol. XV, No. 4 (Columbia, Mo., 1940)), esp. chap. x: "Dogma and Doctrine".

⁵³⁶ Cf. above, n. 531.

⁵³⁷ Cf. Robert C. Angell, *The Integration of American Society* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941), chap. ix. On the process of urbanization in the United States and its bearing upon religion ("ecclesiastical integration") cf. Harlan Paul Douglass, *Church Unity Movements in the United States* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1934), pp. 40 ff.; *The St. Louis Church Survey: A Religious Investigation with a Social Background* (New York: George H. Doran & Co., 1924); *Church Comity: A Study of Church Extension in American Cities* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929); *Protestant Co-operation in American Cities* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930).

⁵³⁸ Cf. the publications and statistics of the Institute of Social and Religious Research; Edmund de Schweinitz Brunner, *Village Communities* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), esp. chap. vi (Part II giving results for individual villages); and *American Agricultural Villages* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), esp. chap. iv; E. deS. Brunner, and John Harrison Kolb, *Rural Social Trends* ("President's Research Committee on Social Trends" (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co.,

(city) and village populations.⁵³⁹ The religious attitude of the American bourgeois,⁵⁴⁰ the farmer,⁵⁴¹ the workman,⁵⁴² will have to be examined in more monographs and in systematic studies.

America, which of all Christian countries has seen the greatest denominational differentiation and division in its ranks, has now come to see as strong tendencies towards unification as are to be found anywhere. This is not the place to review the developments in this direction⁵⁴³ during the past century or half-century, or to enumerate mergers and unions which occurred in this period.⁵⁴⁴ Satisfaction over the general trend—participating in recent organic mergers were Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples of Christ, Evangelists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Reformed, United Brethren—is marred by the realization that it is partly due to indifference and apathy on the part of the members of the bodies

1933), esp. chap. viii; E. deS. Brunner and H. P. Douglass, *The Protestant Churches as Social Institutions* (1935); John Harrison Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), esp. chap. ix; E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years: A Survey of Village Centered Agricultural Communities, 1930-33* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), chap. xii; Harlan Paul Douglass, *The Church in the Changing City* (New York: George H. Doran & Co., 1927); Cf. Arthur E. Holt, "Religion", *AJS*, XXXIV (1928), 172 ff., 1116 ff., etc., and "Holiness, Religion: Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization", *ASR*, V (1940), 740 ff.; Frank D. Alexander, "Religion in a Rural Community of the South", *ASR*, VI (1941), 241 ff.; Ezra Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (New York: J. Wiley & Sons; London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1942).

⁵³⁹ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *A Systematic Sourcebook in Rural Sociology*, esp. Vol. II, chaps. i, iv; Vol. II, chap. xiv.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (Constable, 1937), chap. xx; William Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lund, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* ("Yankee City Series", Vol. V (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford)), 1941), esp. chap. xvii.

⁵⁴¹ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, I, 362 ff.; II, 343 ff.; III, 255 ff.

⁵⁴² Cf., for an example, Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* ("Yale Studies in Religious Education" (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1942)).

⁵⁴³ Winfred Ernest Garrison, "Interdenominational Relations in America before 1837", *ChH*, IX (1934), 59 ff. Cf. esp. Harlan Paul Douglass, *Church Unity Movements in the United States* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1934), including much statistical material and careful examination of incentives and obstacles to unity and discussion of its various forms and strategy; John Alexander Hutchison, *We are Not Divided: A Critical and Historical Study of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ* (New York: Round Table Press, 1941). Latest report: Henry P. van Dusen, "Church Union", *Christendom*, VIII (1943), 87 ff. The author refers to fifty-three definite approaches towards church union during 1927-36, thirty-nine in the following five years, fifteen full unions for the earlier period, and five since 1936. He analyses three types of obstacles: convictional, cultural, and temperamental. Cf. also P. E. Osgood, "Why Don't the Churches Get Together?" *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXI, (1943), 72 ff., and current articles in *Christendom*.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order* (held at Edinburgh, 1937), ed. Leonard Hodgson (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1938); J. H. Oldham, *The World Conference on Church, Community and State* ("Oxford Conference Report" (S.C.M., 1937)).

concerned.⁵⁴⁵ 'Definitely positive are the co-operation in social, charitable, and, to some degree, educational work among the denominations and the growing awareness of the significance of the central issues in the field of faith and order.

⁵⁴⁵ Douglass, *Church Unity Movements*, chap. iv: "How Far Has Unity Come with the Rank and File?"

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY. III : RELIGION AND THE STATE

I. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH: SOCIOLOGICAL ROLE OF THE STATE

In previous chapters we have been concerned with the multifarious forms of social organization, ranging from simple cells to highly complex and intricate social units. Of these, the state merits special consideration for several reasons. In the first place, because it is quantitatively and qualitatively the most important form of organization of society; second, because it is characterized by qualities which are not found in other institutions; and, finally, because our previous examination of specifically religious associations logically warrants an inquiry into their relations with the corresponding secular institutions. In other words, the sociological study of society and religion is incomplete until their relations with each other on all levels are examined.

Various avenues of approach to the study of the relationship of religion and state are open. One is the historical approach, the attempt to trace the interrelations of religion and government as they developed side by side through the ages among all peoples and in all civilizations. Alternatively, we could analyse "phenomenologically" the principles governing such a relationship. Either method pursued exclusively is subject to limitations. The first involves a large amount of overlapping of material, and the second is in constant danger of confusing description with normative issues. For this reason it seems advisable to pursue a middle course, utilizing the more valuable elements in each approach and incorporating the best in the specific method which has been developed by the sociologist of religion.¹ We shall scrutinize different historical forms of religion and patterns of states, limiting ourselves in the main to representative or significant types. We shall avoid completely the problem of the nature, purpose, and justification of the state, a task belonging to the realm of philosophy and political theory, involving normative

¹ See above, chap. i.

inquiry beyond the scope of this study. As the reader is already aware, the analyses hitherto attempted have not excluded all personal evaluation and conviction on the part of the examiner. The latter will, however, be careful not to confuse his own ideals, his personal philosophical predilections, or the theological and metaphysical programme of the group to which he subscribes with the historical, sociological, political, and religious phenomena to be evaluated. He will, when value judgments are called for, try to judge phenomena in the light of norms he considers binding on himself, but always with the desire to understand sympathetically, interpret fairly, and deal justly with the various ideals and ideas to be presented.

2. BEGINNINGS OF THE STATE

Where and when do we find the first beginnings of the state? Undoubtedly the answer must reckon with a blurred transition between the state and some more primitive type of organization.² We agree with Richard Thurnwald: "The transition from the primitive state to a higher cultural life is marked by the plough as an economic implement; the distinction is marked politically by the state."³ Inasmuch as scholars have arrived at no consensus on this point, we shall be content with enumerating those elements generally conceded to be essential to the formation of a state.⁴ First of all, we expect to meet with a certain amount of ethnological, regional, and social stratification, as again Thurnwald has illustrated in several African societies.⁵ A territory, a people, and a sovereign government appear to be essential ingredients for the coming into being of a state. Lowie has demonstrated the importance of the territorial link as an additional factor to the consanguinary principle in primitive society.⁶ The blood tie, according to him, though sometimes overshadowing other elements, can never really replace the unity caused by group

² Cf. Robert Harry Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927); William Christie MacLeod, *The Origin and History of Politics* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1931), chap. iii.

³ Thurnwald, *Economics*, p. 93.

⁴ "State" (art.), in *ESS*, Vols. XIV ff.; Georg Jellinek, *Allgemeine Staatslehre* (3rd ed.; Berlin: J. Springer, 1921); Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1920-22), esp. chap. x; John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics* (rev. ed. of *The State and the Church* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1940)), chap. iii. Cf. there (chaps. iv, v) the discussion on the nature and implications of sovereignty.

⁵ "Politische Entwicklung" (art.), in *RLV*, Vbl. X, chaps. ix ff.

⁶ Lowie, *op. cit.*, chap. iv, p. 73.

proximity. "Abstractly separated by a chasm, the two types of union are in reality intertwined."

Sovereignty in its germinative stage is already present in less complex societies. In discussing the development of the social and political organization of peoples and communities, we have previously noticed that some groups are based on ties of kinship alone, others on historical contiguity, others are knit by common history and tradition, and all, finally, by a unifying government. Migrations, wars, conquests, subjugations, and other developments have helped to create states and to further the process of political and social stratification. Associations and leagues of tribes as we find them among some North American Indians (Cherokee, Pawnee, Dakota, Pueblo) were co-ordinated, but not really integrated into an organized whole, so that they cannot be graced by the term "state".⁷ MacLeod analyses two types of organization which precede the state: "anarchy" as illustrated by the Yurok (North-west American) Indians, and the "gerontocracy" of the East African Bantu.⁸ Examples of a "crystallized yet loose formal political structure", in which the "band" formed the highest unit, can be quoted from Australia and the Plains Indians.⁹ We would hardly be justified in applying the term "state" to the organizations of north-western American Indians, such as the Kwakiutl¹⁰ or to the famous League of the Iroquois, the most statelike organization found among the American Indians,¹¹ or to the organization of the Natchez;¹² but we may well call the Aztec and Peruvian monarchies "states". The term also applies to certain Sudanese despotisms, which probably constitute the most primitive form of community to which this term should be applied.¹³

⁷ Thurnwald, "Staat" (art.), in *RLV*, XII, 358 ff. He describes "Vorstaatliche Organisationen" with examples mainly of North American Indian tribes; cf. his *Economics*, pp. 195 ff. Cf. also Linton, *Study of Man*, chap. xiv: "Tribe and State".

⁸ MacLeod, *op. cit.*, chap. ii.

⁹ Cf. David Roderick, "Political Structure and Status among the Assiniboiné Indians", *AA*, XXXIX (1937), 408 ff. For Australia (the "horde") cf. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes* (Melbourne and London: Macmillan & Co., 1931), pp. 4 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. the description of the civilization of the North-west American coast which Ruth Benedict gives (*Patterns of Culture* (Routledge, 1945), chap. vi), based on Franz Boas' studies; MacLeod, *op. cit.*, chap. viii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, chap. xviii.

¹² William Christie MacLeod, "Natchez Political Evolution", *AA*, XXVI (1924), 201 ff.; cf. above, chap. iv, n. 145.

¹³ Lowie, *op. cit.* On the larger Turko-Mongol political units cf. Alfred E. Hudson *Kazak Social Structure*, pp. 102 ff.

3. IDENTITY OF SPIRITUAL AND SECULAR RULE; HOLY LAW

Natural grouping, as we found it in our discussion of identical groups in chapter iv, dominates the primitive state. No particular problems arise so long as the state remains culturally homogeneous. Where this homogeneity is threatened, it may have to be restored. That can happen by blending originally independent and distinctive cults, or it may be brought about by the arbitrary fiat of a ruler. There is no doubt that religion has proved itself to be one of the most effective and potent unifying forces in the life of all types of states, although it is also known to boomerang against the state or its rulers when misused. Religious tradition among primitive peoples stands for the concept and validity of a universal, cosmic, moral, and ritual law upon which depends the welfare, maybe the existence of the group. That holds true under normal conditions, but becomes even more important in times of distress, conflict, and crisis. For this reason a great deal depends on its interpretation and its interpreter.¹⁴ Inasmuch as its social and political order is not an arbitrary one but is based on static religious principles, the state is bound to conform to the requirements of religion. But this has not always worked out in practice, and there have been as many attempts in primitive religions to alter, reinterpret, or ignore religious precepts or to reprove, silence, and persecute its servants as in the higher religions. Yet there is no challenge to the religious principles themselves where this type of state prevails (except in case of foreign conquest and consequent imposition of alien religious concepts and practices), only empirical dissension on their interpretation and application in concrete situations.¹⁵

Because the terrestrial order ideally should be the earthly image of the celestial order, we find in primitive society identity of secular and spiritual rule.¹⁶ The governing power is invested

¹⁴ Cf. William A. Robson, *Civilization and the Growth of Law: A Study of the Relations between Man's Ideas about the Universe and the Institutions of Law and Government* (Macmillan Co., 1935), esp. chaps. ii and iii.

¹⁵ On the sanctity of Polynesian chieftainship cf. Robert Wood Williamson, *Religious and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* (Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 37-38, 254 ff., chap. xi. On the Tui Tonga (sacred king of Tonga, descendant of the god Tangaloa), *ibid.*, pp. 278-79; and Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Society* (Honolulu: The Museum, 1929), pp. 48 ff.

¹⁶ Vinogradoff (*op. cit.*, p. 351) assumes three types of tribal authority: kinship, elders, assembly (of warriors). Cf. MacLeod's discussion of Frazer's and Perry's theories of the nature of sacred kingship (*Origin and History of Politics*, chap. vi). Cf. also Robson, *op. cit.*, chap. iii: "Men like Gods",

with supreme and undivided authority,¹⁷ so that it is meaningless to inquire whether religion dominates the state or is dominated by the state. The functioning of the headmen of the joint families (*maakua*) as cultic officers is admirably described by Hogbin in his study of the Polynesian society of Ontong-Java.¹⁸ "The *maakua*", we hear, "were to preside at the ceremonies which were destined to quicken those tribal beliefs which tended to produce a spirit of unity among the people as a whole," and "these *maakua* acted as intermediaries between the tribe and the god." With the death of the *maakua*, two sets of funeral ceremonies were performed, corresponding to his dual function: one participated in by members of the joint family alone, and the other to which the entire tribe was invited.

Theocracy and caesaropapism have their analogies in less advanced civilizations.¹⁹ The hierarchical organization of the Zuni state of the American South-west is an interesting example.²⁰ "In Negro society", according to good authority, "a king or supreme chief is regarded as the spiritual, legal, and economic head of the tribe by virtue of his ancestry, position, and sacred attributes."²¹ The above-mentioned forms of rule, however, do

¹⁷ Cf. Gerhardus van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1938), chap. xiii.

¹⁸ Herbert Jan Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (Christophers, 1934), chap. v, pp. 199 ff.; cf. Peter H. Buck, *Anthropology and Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), chap. i.

¹⁹ The Greek Basileus: Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, pp. 326 ff.; on the Roman king and his functions cf. Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1871 (1887), Vol. II, Part I, pp. 12 ff.; *CAH*, VII, 407 ff.; Egypt: Kees, "Ägypten" (*Handbuch der Altertumswiss.*, Sec. III, Part I, Vol. III: "Das göttliche Königtum", pp. 172 ff.). Canaan: Adolphe Lods, *Israel from Its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century* (Kegan Paul, 1932), p. 118.

²⁰ *RLV*, XII, 362; Bunzel, "Zuni Ceremonialism", *BAE*, 1932, pp. 473 ff., 478 ff. Cf. also the theocracy of the Pawnee Indians of Nebraska (James R. Murie, "Pawnee Indian Societies", *AMN*, XI (1916), 549 ff.). On primitive African theocracies: *RLV*, X, 211-12 (chieftains, political and religious leaders, with clan and territorial affiliations). For a typical West African hierarchy see Butt-Thompson, *African Secret Societies*, chap. v.

²¹ Wilfrid Dyson Hambly, *Source-Book for African Anthropology* (*FMNH*, Vol. XXVI (Chicago, 1937)), p. 508. On priestly kings cf. Sir James George Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (*The Golden Bough*, Vol. I (London: Macmillan & Co., 1911-15)), chaps. ii, vi-vii. On their function and the ritual killing: Frazer, *The Dying God* (*The Golden Bough*, Vol. III). Their prestige bound to their success: Thurnwald, *RLV*, Vol. XII, chap. iv. A detailed description of ceremonial: Charles Kingsley Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographical Study in the Jukun-speaking Peoples of Nigeria* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1931), chap. iii: "The Divine King". On the development in Greece from the patriarchal monarchy (king as chief-priest, "the supreme guardian of religion in his state, as the father was in the family" to the institution of the "royal" sacred official, cf. Martin P. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 234-44. On early Semitic kingship: W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 62 ff.; and Adolphe Lods, "La Divinisation du roi dans l'Orient Méditerranéen et ses repercussions dans

not appear except where the religious organization has already produced an ecclesiastical body such as is defined in chapter v.²² The ruler himself may or may not be invested with religious functions. "The political organization of archaic governmental systems", in the words of an outstanding anthropologist, "was based, in the ancient East, and also in Peru, on the legal fiction that the ruler was the father or paterfamilias of a community embracing all his subjects, as, for example, all the Chinese."²³ In Mesopotamia kingship seems to have developed "frequently" from "purely religious leadership", but recent investigations have shown that, in contrast to the Assyrian kings, whose title indicated a religious qualification,²⁴ the Sumerian *patesi* and *lugal* were not originally "priest-kings".²⁵ The king of the Hittites seems also to have functioned as high priest, wearing on this occasion a special dress.²⁶ Frequently the most important rites are reserved for the king (as in Polynesia, ancient Western Asia, Greece, with the Teutons, in India, China, Japan, Mexico, and Peru), while the ordinary rites are performed by state functionaries *ex officio* or by special religious officials (diviners, prophets, priests, etc.).²⁷ Concerning the sacerdotal functions of the Tongan chiefs, Williamson remarks that, notwithstanding their "social pre-eminence and political power", they were "limited to participation in public ceremonies, the imposition of tabus and the like".²⁸ In Egypt, on the other hand, the entire

l'ancien Israël", *RHR*, XI (1931), 209 ff. On Central American rulers (Colombia, Ecuador, etc.): Thomas Athol Joyce, *South American Archaeology* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 18 ff., 51 ff. There is given an account of the famous ascension ceremony of the chief of Guatafita ("El Dorado") (pp. 20 ff., 30). The Inca: Joyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 ff. The Mexican ruler: John Eric Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 100 ff.; cf. pp. 104 ff. on the initiation rituals and the second mysterious ruler ("snake woman"), p. 108. Cf. also George C. Vaillant, *Aztecs of Mexico* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1941), chaps. vi and xi.

²² On medieval Christian, esp. the English idea of divine kingship, cf. J. N. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings* (Cambridge University Press, 1914), esp. chaps. i, v.

²³ Thurnwald, *Economics*, p. 273.

²⁴ But cf. *RLA*, I, 441 ff.

²⁵ Cf. H. F. Lutz, "Kingship in Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt", *AA*, XXVI (1924), 435 ff. Cf. also Christliebe Jeremias, *Die Vergöttlichung der babylonisch-assyrischen Könige* (Leipzig, 1919).

²⁶ Alfred Götze, "Kleinasien", in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Sec. III, Part I, chap. iii (München: C. H. Beck, 1933), pp. 85 ff., 154-55. On theocratically ruled towns ("Gottesstädte") of the Hittites cf. *ibid.*, p. 96. Assyria: Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, chap. xvi.

²⁷ Cf. below, chap. viii; Frazer, *Taboo*, chap. i, par. 2. For the status of the king with the ancient Hindu cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* (Benares: Hindu University, 1929), esp. Lects. III-V.

²⁸ Williamson, *op. cit.*, p. 287; Buck, *Anthropology*, pp. 3 ff.

priesthood was based on the assumption of concession of royal privileges to the clergy.²⁹

In Imperial Rome and in China the state cult is strictly analogous to that of the family, tribe, city or province. The divine character of the Chinese emperor manifested itself in the elaborate ritual of state celebrations, in privileges and rights such as promotion and demotion of deities, and in ceremonial functions.³⁰ In Japan the head of state and dynasty presides at all great religio-political rites.³¹ The emperor of Annam is "le suprême pontife, le juge suprême auguste et saint, le père et la mère de ses sujets".³² The detachment of religious functions from the ruler to specially appointed individuals or groups ends, if not theoretically at least practically, the previous identity of ruler and high priest in the course of time. Founded religions, emerging later, as a rule represent a more advanced stage of detachment of religious from political function. That detachment reaches its zenith where one single or dominating religion is threatened or supplanted by competitive cults.

To the practical function of the ruler in the cult corresponds the belief (ideology) that he is the temporary or permanent incarnation,³³ manifestation, or descendant of the gods (Africa, Polynesia, Japan, China, Mongolia, India, Iran, Babylonia, the Hittites, Assyria, Urartu, Egypt, West Indo-Germanic tribes, Romans,³⁴ Western empires, Israel). Frazer, who collected an enormous amount of material on this subject, does not always distinguish clearly enough among the varied types of beliefs and

²⁹ "All priesthood relies, according to Egyptian concepts, on the relinquishing of royal prerogative" ("auf einer Überlassung von Königsrechten" (Kees, "Ägypten" p. 242).

³⁰ Cf. Robert K. Douglas, *Society in China* (2nd ed.; London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1894), chap. i; Marcel Granet, *Chinese Civilization* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.; New York: A. A. Knopf, 1930), pp. 247 ff., 377; and Kenneth S. Latourette, *The Chinese* (Macmillan Co., 1934), II, 27 and 135 ff.

³¹ Shigetō Hozumi, *Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law* (6th rev. ed.; Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1940), pp. 71 ff., 92 ff.

³² The emperor of Annam: Pierre Pasquier, *L'Annam d'autrefois* (Paris: A. Challamel, 1907), pp. 67 ff.

³³ Frazer, *Magic Art*, chap. vii: "Incarnate Human Gods", pp. 376 ff.

³⁴ On the *Herrscherkult* of the late antiquity of Ernst Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte", *Klio*, I (1901), 51 ff.; E. Bickermann, "Die Römische Kaiserapotheose", *ARW*, XXVII (1929), 1 ff.; Otto Kern, *Religion der Griechen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926-38), Vol. III, chap. v; Martin Perceval Charlesworth, "Some Observations on Ruler-Cults in Rome", *HThR*, XXVIII (1935), 5 ff.; Herbert von Borch, "Das Gottesgnadentum", in *Probleme der Staats- und Kultursociologie*, ed. Alfred Weber (Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt, 1934), esp. pp. 52 ff. Hellenistic worship of kings is discussed by Arthur D. Nock, "Syllabus of Gifford Lectures" (manuscript, 1939). On the Basilistoi in Hellenistic Egypt see M. San Nicolò, *Egyptisches Vereinswesen* (München: C. H. Beck, 1913), pp. 24 ff.

institutions with which he deals. The deification of outstanding individuals in Polynesia; various kinds of priestly *mana* in India and south-eastern Asia, and the corresponding reverence attached to them; the deification of Nordic, East African, and African kings; and the claim of divinity due to mystical union in Christianity are based on distinctly different attitudes and thus produced characteristically different institutions.

The sacred character of the head of the state must always be safeguarded with the greatest of caution. The severe taboos placed upon the ruler of the primitive state (Polynesia: Hawaii, Fiji, Tonga, Samoa; Madagascar; and East, Central, and West Africa)³⁵ did not become entirely obsolete with the development of the higher civilizations³⁶ (examples: Japan,³⁷ ancient Celts,³⁸ and medieval and modern Europe).³⁹ Inasmuch as the welfare, success, and even the existence of the state depend upon the continuous and careful observance of the rites and norms which the gods have laid down, we see religious practices regularly accompanying acts of state, whether they are performed in the normal course or upon extraordinary occasions like warfare, domestic crisis, or catastrophes. Solemn sacrifices, prayers, vows, supplications, lustrations, processions, and pilgrimages mark the celebration of regular and special occasions in the life of the state.⁴⁰ Frequently a considerable amount of the wealth and revenue of the state is used for this purpose. A modern "secularized" spectator would be amazed to see how much an official state celebration in a primitive or oriental country or the ceremonial of the court of the monarch resembles what he would call a "religious" ceremony.⁴¹ A great part of it is, no doubt, truly a

³⁵ F. R. Lehmann, *Mana: die polynesischen Tabusitten* (Leipzig, 1930). Cf. Hambly, *Source-Book*, pp. 548 ff., on "Sacred Kings": "The sacredness of kings, the power of their departed spirits and the rites of ancestor worship are constant factors in Negro religion, yet beliefs differ in their intensity and in the elaboration of their attendant ritual" (p. 555).

³⁶ Frazer, *Magic Art*, pp. 389 ff., 417 ff.; *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, chap. i: "The Burden of Royalty", and chap. iv, par. 1.

³⁷ Cf. the "coronation" ceremony of the emperor, his functions, the rites in his chapel (Florenz, "Die Japaner", in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, p. 323).

³⁸ Taboo of Irish kings: Frazer, *Taboo*, p. 114.

³⁹ Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I: *The Divine Right of Kings and the Right of Resistance in the Early Middle Ages*, trans. B. S. Chrimes (Oxford: H. Blanchard, 1939), esp. on the consecration of the medieval monarch, pp. 27 ff., and the effects of the pre-Christian cult, pp. 61 ff.; Borch, *op. cit.*, chap. v.

⁴⁰ For Greece: Martin Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906); Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 517; Karl Joachim Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1873-78), pp. 142 ff.; *CAH*, VII, 10-13; VIII, 431 ff.

⁴¹ Cf. above, n. 21.

religious ceremony. In most primitive societies' and formerly in all oriental and even Western countries law and order, the foundations of a state, are invested with a semi-religious character.⁴² The student of primitive law is therefore at times hard put to it to differentiate between jurisprudence and theology, secular and holy law and custom.⁴³

Other examples of the coincidence of religious and secular law will be more familiar to the reader than the above-quoted examples from Oceanic or African societies.⁴⁴ In ancient Greece violations of the law of the city-states, of most of the *nomoi* identified with *dike* or guaranteed by the gods, were both a sacrilege and an offence against the civil order.⁴⁵ Heraclitus could rightly be called the first philosopher of the *nomos*. From its beginnings the state in ancient Israel, originally a loose confederation of tribes, was supposed to rest upon the "Torat Yahweh",⁴⁶ from which could be deduced not only God's will in general but also the clear and detailed regulation of political, civic, and penal affairs.⁴⁷ This was done in turn by Moses, the Judges, the Kings, and the Prophets.⁴⁸ It has been said: "As in other hierocratic states, the Israelitic lawgivers, and all the expounders and codifiers of Jewish law who followed, drew no distinction between *jus* and *fas*, between strictly legal prescription and general moral commandment."⁴⁹

⁴² Cf. the very illuminating chapter, "Ruling", in Robert R. Marett, *Sacraments of Simple Folk* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), chap. vi; Kern, *Kingship*, Part II: "Law in the Middle Ages"; Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1940), chap. i.

⁴³ Cf. above, chap. ii, nn. 70 ff.

⁴⁴ Robson, *Civilization and the Growth of Law*, chap. vi: "The Law and the Creed"; Nicholas S. Timasheff, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Law* ("Harvard Sociological Studies", Vol. III (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939)), chaps. iv, vii.

⁴⁵ Vinogradoff, *Historical Jurisprudence*, chap. ii.

⁴⁶ Discussion of the term: Joachim Begrich, "Die priesterliche Tora", in *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XLVI (1936), 63 ff.; Walther Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933), chaps. ii, iii, xiv.

⁴⁷ "Law never came to be a purely secular matter", according to Baron, *History of the Jews*, I, 64 ff.

⁴⁸ See the excellent treatment of the constitutional history of Israel in Albrecht Alt, *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palestina* (Leipzig: A. Edelmann, 1930), and A. Causse, *Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1937). Cf. H. H. Rowley, "Political and Economic History of Israel", and W. A. L. Elmslie, "Ethics", in *Record and Revelation*, ed. H. Wheeler Robinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), III, 3, and IV, 4. For a survey of the cultic, ethical, and civic laws of the Hebrews cf. Lewis Bayles Paton, "The Ethics of the Hebrew Prophets", in *The Evolution of Ethics as Revealed in the Great Religions*, ed. E. Hershey Sneath (Oxford University Press, 1927), chap. vi; and, in general: Baron, *History of the Jews*.

⁴⁹ Baron, *History of the Jews*, III, 81 n.

The best parallel to the Hebrew conception of law is the Mohammedan Sharia,⁵⁰ the common foundation upon which all Mohammedan states, however widely separated geographically, ethnically, and culturally, are supposed to be based. A thorough investigation into the parallels as well as the differences between Moslem and Jewish law has only recently been called a desideratum. The Sharia comprises, "as an infallible doctrine of ethics, the whole religious, political, social, domestic, and private life of those who profess Islam".⁵¹ Two groups of prescriptions are included: regulations of worship and ritual duties and regulations of judicial and political nature. The fundamental tendency in the growth of the Sharia was the religious evaluation of all the affairs of life; legal considerations were secondary. Very illuminating for the actual development of the relation of spiritual and secular power in later Islam is the history of the institution of "Shaikh ul Islam", that is, the mufti of Constantinople.⁵² Of special interest is also the theocratic organization of the Mohammedan Yazidi, a syncretist national religious group (Kurdistan, Iraq) headed by two highest dignitaries, the spiritual leader (chief *shaikh*, who "takes precedence over everyone") and the secular Mirza Beg, who exercises the highest political and secular power.⁵³

Having taken over the twofold heritage of Greco-Roman law⁵⁴ and the ideas of the Old Testament,⁵⁵ the early and medieval Christian states⁵⁶ were likewise grounded in theory and in practice on laws which derived their authority ultimately from divine revelation and were, therefore, supposedly in harmony with

⁵⁰ Ignaz Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (2nd ed.; Heidelberg: K. Winter, 1925), chap. ii, "Die Entwicklung des Gesetzes". Cf. there the interpretation of the (four great) *madhahib* (schools), pp. 148 ff., for the formulas of the different *fiqh*: Arent Jan Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Development* (Cambridge University Press, 1932), chaps. vi-ix.

⁵¹ "Sharia" (art.), in *EI*, IV, 320 ff.

⁵² "Shaikh ul Islam" (art.), in *EI*, IV, 275 ff. Cf. Edward Jabra Jurji, "Islamic Law in Operation", *AJSL*, LXVII (1940), 32 ff.

⁵³ "Yazidi" (art.), in *EI*, IV, 1168, and above.

⁵⁴ H. J. Roby, "Roman Law", *GMedH*, Vol. II, chap. iii; Charles Howard McIlwain, *Constitutionalism, Ancient and Modern* (Oxford University Press, 1940), chap. iii.

⁵⁵ Cf. *The Legacy of Israel*, ed. Edwyn R. Bevan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).

⁵⁶ Charles N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940); Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1940), esp. pp. 56 ff. (ecclesiastical and secular hierarchy, "Royal Theocracy"); Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I: *The Divine Right of Kings and the Right of Resistance in the Early Middle Ages*, chap. 1, esp. pp. 12 ff.

it.⁵⁷ The emancipation of the different national codes from canon law and the role of "natural law" (*lex naturae*)⁵⁸ in the formation of the modern world and its political ideology⁵⁹ has recently been brilliantly elucidated.⁶⁰

That the law of the state is embedded in a religious matrix is a principle which has been preserved and safeguarded through the greater part of human history. As we have already pointed out, there is in the beginning no real separation between secular and religious regimen, although there are differences in practice between those speaking in the name of the state and those representing religion. As long as the representative of religion is a single individual or an insignificant group, no serious conflict can arise; but, as its organization continues to expand and the influence and power of the religious functionaries continue to increase, complications are almost inevitable. The first problem to arise is the definition of competence and the establishment of the final authority for things secular and spiritual. (Such a dichotomy exists potentially even in primitive society, although the current sociological terminology makes no provision for it.) Dissension may be bred over certain practical issues. Disputes over property, rank, education, and problems of jurisdiction occur, with personal issues and motives often adding to mutual distrust among the parties involved. The history of the kingdom of Israel, especially in later years; of Egypt, India, Byzantium; and of medieval Western Europe is very illuminating in this connection. At any rate, our study of the organization of religious groups in its various stages enables us to appreciate the facility with which friction may result between the state, on one side,

⁵⁷ Cf. the pertinent chapters in *CMedH*, Vols. I-IV, and Guido Kisch, "Biblical Spirit in Mediaeval German Law", *Speculum*, XIV (1939), 38 ff. ("Religion and law linked most closely.")

⁵⁸ Otto von Gierke, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society*, 1500-1800, with Ernst Troeltsch's lecture on "The Idea of Natural Law and Humanity", and Introduction by Ernest Barker (Cambridge University Press, 1934). Cf. the Roman Catholic concept in Ryan and Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics*, chap. i.

⁵⁹ Robert Warrand Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1903 ff.); Charles Howard McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West: From the Greeks to the End of the Middle Ages* (Macmillan Co., 1932); Fossey J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers* (London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1923); John N. Figgis, *Studies in Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius* (Cambridge University Press, 1907); William Adams Brown, *Church and State in Contemporary America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), esp. chap. iii.

⁶⁰ Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II; *RGG*, IV, 445 ff.; Ernst Troeltsch, "Protestantismus", in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, ed. Paul Hinneberg (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner); "Soziallehren", pp. 156 ff., 255 ff., 532 ff.; cf. above, n. 58.

and the priestly organization, members of mystery societies, followers of a religious leader, an ecclesiastical body, or an order or band of religious revolutionaries, on the other.

4. TRADITIONAL AND FOUNDED RELIGION

An epoch in religious history is marked by the rise and growth of the founded religions. Although the traditional cults can boast of charismatic religious leaders too (American Indian and African religions), their prophets, revolutionary ideas and activities notwithstanding, tend on the whole to maintain the spirit and oftentimes the forms of tribal or national faith. As a result no opposition is created in principle to the established powers which have been sanctioned by tradition. The founders, on the other hand, were forced to begin completely *de novo*, guided by their own creative religious experience. They had to rethink the very principles to which they and their followers were to be oriented. The inevitable result was that they or their followers (Jesus, Zoroaster, Mani, Mohammed, Gautama, Vardhamana) found themselves in irreconcilable opposition to certain principles, to statutes, institutions, or representatives of the state. There are conceivable a variety of attitudes which religious groups can take towards the state. One attitude is that of resigned submission, indifference, and withdrawal from public life and all its affairs, such as is manifested by many ascetics, recluses, individual and collective nonconformists, and sectarians.⁶¹ Passive resistance, objection to the bearing of arms and to taking an oath frequently characterize this position.⁶² Another view considers the state to be the incarnation and embodiment of evil, and is therefore prepared actively to oppose it. Extremists are prepared to shed blood if necessary to destroy the authority which interferes with the newly gained religious conviction, whether by threatening freedom of worship or by insistence upon an official cult which would monopolize the religious scene, or by other demands. Various attitudes have been taken by the same group, dependent

⁶¹ Cf. above, chap. v, secs. 10 ff., for the role of political factors in the sociological differentiation of protests, which should be neither underrated nor overrated.

⁶² Kern (*Kingship and Law*, chap. iii) traces masterfully the development of the right of resistance on religious grounds and of passive obedience in primitive and medieval Christianity. For the development of the Lutheran and Calvinistic concepts see J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: L. MacVeagh (Dial Press), 1928; 2nd ed.: London: Methuen & Co., 1941), pp. 103 ff., and Guy Howard Dodge, *Theocracy and Revolution* (1944).

upon religious affiliation and policy of individual rulers or governments, and they have been justified by different interpretations of the same basic religious principles.

5. COMPETITION OF CULTS

It will be observed that the existence of competing cults automatically renders the relation of religion to state much more complicated and involved. Even in the less advanced civilizations wherever two or more religions co-exist within the same group or area, one usually dominates while the others at best are only tolerated. For the state, as for the ruler in primitive society, several courses are open. Preference may be given to one or official indifference could be shown to all regardless of the ruler's or ruling group's personal predilection. The preference may amount to a virtual monopoly, with a negative or hostile attitude towards the other faiths and practices, thus establishing a state religion, either an archaic, tribal, local, or national faith, or an entirely new-founded cult. The degree of coercion necessary to establish such a state religion will vary with the character of the peoples concerned and with general and specific conditions. It is pertinent to note that in state religions the emphasis is usually on the cultic and less on the theoretical expression, although in some instances there is an insistence on certain doctrinal and dogmatic formulas as criteria (*shibboleth*). But, as this is more common in the advanced civilizations and the great monotheistic religions, we shall reserve its discussion for later.

6. TYPOLOGY I: IDENTITY OF STATE AND CULT

We shall now supplement these more general observations on the relation of religion and state by outlining briefly a typology of this relation and its corresponding organizational structure according to the various stages of cultural development.

The *first* stage is marked by the identity of secular and religious groups. The state is integrated by a common exclusive worship of representative deities and by a ruler who both governs his subjects and intercedes with the gods on their behalf. The first symptoms of specialization are indicated by the performance of specific or general priestly functions by special consanguinary or otherwise selected individuals or groups (certain high officials or

dignitaries)⁶³ and by the existence of groups and clans with specific religious functions (e.g., diviners, magicians, and priests). Frazer uses examples from primitive society to illustrate the transmission of a ruler's governing prerogatives to vicars or tenants because of the heavy taboos resting on the ruler's personality. The most famous example on a higher cultural level is the shogunate in Japan. Political motives led to the same result in Greece.⁶⁴ It is also characteristic of the transition from even more primitive conditions where the chieftains as well as the minor officials double as cult officials and there exists no distinct religious organization.

The *second* stage is marked by a fuller development of government and cultic organization with relatively greater independence or even autonomy for the latter. The influence, power, and authority of the head of the priestly organizations may be felt not only in the religious but also in the political and cultural spheres. Conflicts in principle are unlikely, but personal struggles for power between able and outstanding leaders of the state and of the ecclesiastical body are frequent. It must be remembered that at this stage neither state nor religion is universal in principle. They are of an identical and distinct ethnical, regional, and national character. During this period there prevails in all fields of religious expression a tendency towards crystallization, standardization, and unification. Mythical traditions are collected and a systematic theology emerges; rites are codified into obligatory ritual and devotion assumes distinctive forms.⁶⁵ The development of religious organization also reveals unmistakable trends. Formation of a centralized form of government supersedes the older tribal and local order through either gradual development or precipitous action by conquerors and empire-builders.⁶⁶ Cultic institutions have no choice but to conform to changing conditions, frequently with an increase in prestige due to their "archaic" character. In connection with military and political developments, a *Reichsreligion* (imperial cult) may be

⁶³ Frazer, *Taboo*, chaps. i, ii. On the shogunate see Mahasaru Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930), pp. 215 ff. On Polynesian *reges otiosi* cf. Hoggins, *Law and Order in Polynesia*, 236 ff. (Tuitonga). An example from South America (Colombia): Joyce, *South American Archaeology*, p. 14.

⁶⁴ On the Basileis of the various city-states and their function cf. Busolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 326, 348 ff., 674. For the Roman *rex sacrorum* see Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1874), II, 11 ff. Cf. also above, n. 19.

⁶⁵ Cf. the discussion above, chaps. ii and iii.

⁶⁶ An interesting typical example of African developments (superseding of clan organization by political—personal charismatic and later institutional—organization) is the Ruanda "state" in East Africa, discussed by R. Thurnwald in *RLV*, X, 216 ff.

formed which helps to integrate unified states or empires (Israel, Rome, Mexico, Peru,⁶⁷ China, Japan, Egypt,⁶⁸ Babylonia, the Hittite Empire,⁶⁹ and Persia).

Yet the religious centre is not necessarily the political centre, and a latent dualism may result which is of no inconsiderable importance.⁷⁰ The West African state of the Yoruba is an interesting example. Here the emperor (*alafin*), considered an incarnation of Shango, the powerful god of lightning and small-pox, resides in Ojo, the political centre of the country, while the *oni*, or pope, the high priest of the Yoruba, dwells at Ife, the ancient sacred metropolis.⁷¹ For another example we might refer to the religious authority which the sacred centres of the ancient Maya Empire (Copan, Palenque) continued to exercise in the capitals of the Yucatan empire (Mayapan, Chichen Itza in later times). We know that the prestige and authority of such cultic places as Delphi in Greece; Memphis, Thebes, and Abydos in Egypt; Shechem, Hebron, Mizpah, and Rama in Israel; Benares, Allahabad, and Amritsar in India; and Kyoto in Japan remained great after their political influence had waned.

The political as well as the religious organizations gain in strength during this period. There are variations in the degree to which the sanctity of the ruler is emphasized. The older conceptions of the priest-king are carried over into some of the more advanced civilizations such as Egypt, Peru, and Japan. The theory that the gods themselves are the rulers, the rulers being their incarnations, vicars, representatives, or descendants, has led to a well-developed theocracy in some places. Here the state is controlled by the plenipotentiaries of the gods and by the organizations of the religious functionaries.⁷² In other cases a

⁶⁷ Cf. Joyce, *South American Archaeology*; chap. iv; "The Growth of the Peruvian Empire", and chap. vii: "The Religion" (sun cult as "state-religion", p. 153). Cf. also MacLeod, *Origin and History of Politics*, chap. xiv: "The Empire of the Incas".

⁶⁸ Cf. the excellent survey in William F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity, Monotheism and the Historical Progress* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), esp. p. 105 ff.; 123 ff., 157 ff.). On the development in Egypt cf. Kees, "Ägypten", pp. 321 ff., who, in discussing the relation of religious and political implications of centralization, refers to Sethe's theory of a pre-dynastic Heliopolitan *Einheitsreich*.

⁶⁹ The unification of religious concepts was never quite carried through in the Hittite Empire. Götzke ("Kleinasien," p. 124) explains that this tendency might not have been so strong in Asia Minor as elsewhere in the ancient oriental monarchies.

⁷⁰ Cf. above, chap. i, sec. 4, on local cults.

⁷¹ Leo Frobenius, *Die atlantische Götterlehre* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1926), pp. 55 ff., 103 ff.

⁷² For the priestly rule in the Twentieth and Twenty-first dynasties in Egypt (high priestess of Mut ruling in Thebes; ascension of high priest of Ammon to the throne, 1100 B.C.) cf. Adolf Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1934), chaps. xiii, xviii.

gradual or sudden emancipation of secular power takes place. Although theoretically the idea of the divinely commissioned ruler is retained and the state remains founded on a universally valid cosmic and moral order, there ensues a gradual separation between public and private religions. The personal attitudes of groups and even individuals, more especially the leading personalities, become distinctive.⁷³ One of two policies may be followed by the ruler. He may attempt to restrict the power, influence, and prestige of the religious functionaries, limiting them to strictly cultic activities. This step paves the way for the eventual separation of church and state. On the other hand, the ruler might try to establish state control and domination over the religious activities. There are numerous variations in practice, corresponding to the ethnically, politically, and historically conditioned character and nature of the state. There are city-states which have always remained city-states (Greece, Phoenicia); so their cults remained city cults, notwithstanding the growth of cultic differentiation. Others expanded into large territorial units (Rome, Ashur, Mexico-Tenochtitlan). Here there was more leeway for such differentiation. Some states are more and others are less ethnically and culturally homogeneous. As a result, attitudes toward religion vary in different cases. A definitely new situation is given with the existence of two or more cults within the boundaries of one state. The old traditional forms of worship may persist or new types may emerge or be introduced from the outside. These cults may be compatible or mutually exclusive. In the latter event, the state will either be indifferent toward such competition or take sides. Whether the state will identify itself with a certain faith or form of worship depends on its general attitude towards and concept of religion. As previously stated, the state might decide to give a monopoly to one faith and actively repress the others. The state which identifies itself with a religion which is the outgrowth of an original ethnic or local cult may give to it an elastic interpretation. Ideas and rites may be borrowed from elsewhere. The Roman *evocatio* (invitation to foreign gods), the enlargement of the *pomerium*, and the import of foreign deities worshipped in it, as well as the *interpretatio Romana*, served this end. In discussing these possibilities, however, we are anticipating the more advanced conditions prevailing in the third stage of the relation of religion and state.

⁷³ For the concept of kin right (not individual but kin charisma) with Germanic tribes and its religious implications cf. Kern, *Kingship and Law*, p. 12.

7. EXAMPLES OF A TRANSITIONAL STAGE

(a) *Zoroastrianism*.—The first example, illustrating the transition from the second to the third stage, is Persia during the period of the Sassanian dynasty from the third to the seventh centuries A.D. In this second great period of Persian history⁷⁴ we find a highly organized government and administration headed by the monarch, who was believed to be invested with the divine *hwarenah* (glory), and ruled a country supposedly homogeneous, according to the *asha* (universal cosmic and moral law). The traditional Iranian religion, which through the interpretation of Zoroaster had acquired a somewhat more universal character, had by this time produced a highly organized ecclesiastical body with hierarchical structure.⁷⁵ Few non-Christian religious institutions could more justly be termed a "church".⁷⁶ In fact, the Sassanian was a state church, enjoyed all the privileges of such, and was comparatively free from state interference. There were religious minorities (Christians, Manichaeans),⁷⁷ and these groups were subjected to all the intolerances so characteristic of monopolistic state religions.⁷⁸ In spite of its close alliance with the national Iranian state, the "good religion" (*bah din*) did not perish with the catastrophic collapse of the empire in the seventh century but survived as a free religious community on a foreign soil.⁷⁹

(b) *Shinto*.—A second example is Shinto, the national cult of Japan.⁸⁰ Originally a tribal cult, it expanded to national dimensions with the political successes of the empire-building dynasty.

⁷⁴ Cf. the brilliant monograph by Arthur E. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1936), and Joseph Denner, "Weltalter, Stände und Herrschaft in Iran", *ARW*, XXXIV (1937), 263 ff. On the organization of the Zoroastrian "church" cf. below, chap. viii and Appendix, n. 14. Cf. also Maneckji N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1922), chaps. xlii ff.

⁷⁵ Christensen, *op. cit.*, chap. iii.

⁷⁶ On the organization see *ibid.*; Dhalla, *op. cit.*, chaps. xlviii ff.

⁷⁷ Christensen, *op. cit.*, chaps. vi and iv.

⁷⁸ On Mazdakism see *ibid.*, chap. vii.

⁷⁹ Jivanji J. Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (2nd ed.; Bombay: J. B. Karani's Sons, 1937); James H. Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi: A Study of Modern Zoroastrianism* (London and New York: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1917).

⁸⁰ Cf. chap. iv, nn. 281 ff. The best recent presentations of Shinto are Daniel Clarence Holton's *The National Faith of Japan: A Study in Modern Shinto* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1938) and *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism: A Study of Present-Day Trends in Japanese Religions* (Cambridge University Press, 1943); cf. also, besides the older works (Ashton, Chamberlain, Florenz, etc.), for the historical development, Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*.

Later, after the introduction of foreign beliefs (Buddhism,⁸¹ Confucianism),⁸² it broadened its scope and became syncretistic (Ryobu Shinto). The personal attitude of the rulers towards the different faiths varied, and Buddhism at times became dominant. Yet there is no analogy in Japanese history to the Western conflict between imperial and papal claims, because even the mightiest Buddhist hierarchs were in no position to challenge the divine ruler's authority, weak though it frequently was.⁸³ Since the Meiji restoration Shinto observances have been obligatory for all subjects of the divine ruler of the Islands.⁸⁴ The final decision as to the nature of Shinto and the definition of the relation of religion and state in Japan are two of the most important and interesting issues of contemporary Japanese religion.⁸⁵ In its official form Shinto, by definition, lacks the essentials of an ecclesiastical cult, such as doctrine and hierarchy. As a devotional cult ("sect"), however, in which capacity it has officially no relation to the state, it contains these essentials.⁸⁶

(c) *Islam*.—A third example is the relation between religion and state in Mohammedan countries. Being a universal religion Islam belongs to a group different from the faiths hitherto discussed; its peculiar political theory, however, places it in a category by itself. Although the founder of Islam insisted that he was an Arab prophet with a message to the Arab people, his conception of believers and unbelievers and of the faith and its propagation indicates that the community he aimed at establishing

⁸¹ Anesaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff.; August Karl Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1917); Sir Charles Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (London: E. Arnold & Co., 1935); James Thayer Addison, "Religious Life in Japan", *HTHR*, XVIII (1925), 351 ff.

⁸² On later Japanese Confucianism see O. Kressler, "Die mittel-japanischen Konfuzianischen Philosophen und ihr Verhältnis zum Buddhismus ihres Landes", in *ZDMG*, LXXXVIII (1934), 65 ff. Cf. also Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, chap. xiii, on the contemporary revival of Confucianism in popular Shinto.

⁸³ Cf. the characteristic attitude of the first Tokugawa (Ieyasu) towards the Buddhist clergy and his statement on the three religions (Arthur Lindsay Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan: The Life of Tokugawa Ieyasu* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1937), chap. iv and p. 393).

⁸⁴ Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, chap. vi, and *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism*, pp. 9 ff., 56 ff., and chap. vi, on the official history and the final and binding formulation of the Amaterasu myth. Cf. August Karl Reischauer, *Japan, Government and Politics* (T. Nelson & Sons, 1939), esp. chap. i.

⁸⁵ The recent important official decisions on State Shinto and the discussions preceding and following them in Japan, Korea, etc., are reported epitomized in *IRM*, April, 1938, by Holtom.

⁸⁶ Cf. Holtom, *Faith of Japan*, Part II, on the so-called Shinto "sects". See also above, chap. v, nn. 101 and 530. On the policy of the government toward religious minorities before 1878 cf. Mahasaru Anesaki, "Psychological Observations on the Persecution of the Catholics in Japan in the Seventeenth Century", *HJAS*, I (1936), 13 ff.

was both narrower and larger than a specific ethnical or territorial group.⁸⁷ The Islamic community of Mohammed's later years and that of the first caliphate have been called theocracies. They were believed by their members to rest upon the holy law promulgated in the Koran and the sacred tradition, as interpreted by the great *imams* of the first centuries. Different communities and groups in earlier and later Islam varied in their constitution in accordance with the prevailing interpretation of these primary sources. Interesting is the conception of the Brotherhood of Basra (tenth century). The kings are the caliphs of God upon this earth and the guardians of his religion; the *qadis*, or the judges, are the caliphs of the prophets.⁸⁸ Wherever the holy law was considered valid, however, and people lived as true Moslems under the leadership of the divinely guided caliph, there, according to Moslem orthodox (i.e., Sunnite) theology, a Mohammedan state existed.

The central concept of the Mohammedan Sunnite political theory is the caliphate, whose history has been lately so ably discussed.⁸⁹ The first dissensions in the community were over this issue.⁹⁰ Revolutionaries were considered enemies of the state and religion.⁹¹ The change from the Umayyad to the Abbaside dynasty, according to the best authorities,⁹² consisted in the substitution of a Moslem for an Arab kingdom. From the Umayyads on, however, the threefold governmental functions of political administration, tax collection, and religious leadership were directed by three different officials.⁹³ The theocratic character of Mohammedan rule is clearly marked in the Abbaside caliphate, with its insistence upon orthodoxy and with the

⁸⁷ Cf. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1937). Cf. above, chap. vi, sec. 10, and notes.

⁸⁸ Sir Thomas Walker Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 123 (cf. next note). On the theology of the Brethren cf. above, chap. v, sec. 11, n. 382.

⁸⁹ Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall, from Original Sources* (2nd ed.; London: Religious Tract Society, 1924) (detailed history); Arnold, *op. cit.*, chap. x (history in essence).

⁹⁰ Cf. above, chap. v, sec. 12, nn. 9, 10, 12, 210, 298, 444, 468. On the Shiite conception of the imamate and its theocratical significance cf. Dwight M. Donaldson, *Shiite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak* (London: Luzac & Co., 1933), chap. i; also Titus, *Indian Islam*, chap. v.

⁹¹ Cf. Louis Massignon's great biography of the martyr-mystic Al-Hallaj: *La Passion d'al Hosayn ibn Mansour Al Halladj: Étude d'histoire religieuse* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1922).

⁹² Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 36; also *GMedH*, Vol. IV, chap. x; Hitti, *op. cit.*, chaps. xxxi-xxx; Donaldson, *op. cit.*, chap. xi.

⁹³ Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 ff.

strong influence of the theologians at court.⁹⁴ With the establishment of another caliphate⁹⁵—Abdurrahman III in Spain officially assumed the title in 928—it became clear that there was to be more than one Mohammedan state.⁹⁶ Conflicts analogous to those between church and state in medieval Christianity could not arise in Islam because there never was anything like a distinct ecclesiastical body, to say nothing of a hierarchical constitution.⁹⁷ Whereas *khalifa* (successor) and "Amir ul Muminin" (prince of the believers) are the favourite Sunnite appellations, the title of *imam*, emphasizing the religious significance, is the favourite Shiite designation of the head of the state. The Shiites attribute metaphysical importance to the *imam*.⁹⁸ From the beginning and all through their history, Mohammedan states, both Sunnite and Shiite, have had to face dissent and opposition on religious grounds. Many a Moslem ruler and government has fought groups and individuals of dissenting convictions and attitudes.⁹⁹ As far as the attitude of the Moslem state towards religious minorities is concerned,¹⁰⁰ there has been at times, and especially in the Ottoman¹⁰¹ and Mogul empires, considerable difference between the official theoretical attitude toward non-believers, which demanded their complete annihilation, and the actual policy of the Mohammedan governments.¹⁰² Contemporary

⁹⁴ Duncan B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Law* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp. 91 ff.

⁹⁵ Hitti, *op. cit.*, chaps. xxi ff.; Rafael Altamira, "The Western Caliphate", *CMedH*, Vol. III, chap. xvi.

⁹⁶ On the later caliphate in Cairo cf. Arnold, *op. cit.*, chaps. vii and viii; in other states, chap. ix.

⁹⁷ Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff., 14, and esp. pp. 189 ff. On the qualifications of a *khalifa* see Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 70 ff.; of the *imam*, pp. 184 ff.; Donaldson, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

⁹⁸ Good survey on the religious and political views of the different Shia groups in George Foot Moore, *History of Religions* ("International Theological Library" (T. & T. Clark, 1928)), II, 431 ff., 499 ff. On the imamites see Rudolf Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Schia* (1926).

⁹⁹ Cf. above, n. 90.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Arthur Stanley Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of Umar* (London and Bombay: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford) 1930) (period of Umar); Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 232 ff., 352 ff. Alford Carleton in an interesting article ("Near Eastern Aspects of the Problem of Church and State", *Moslem World*, XXVIII (1938), 279 ff.) discusses the nature and significance of the millet concept in the historical development of the religious minorities in Islamic countries to this day.

¹⁰¹ Albert Howe Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* ("Harvard Historical Studies", Vol. XVIII (Oxford University Press, 1913)), esp. pp. 206 ff., 91 ff.

¹⁰² Cf. Adolph Louis Wisnar, *A Study in Tolerance, as Practised by Muhammad and His Immediate Successors* ("Contributions to Oriental History and Philology", Vol. XIII (Oxford University Press, 1927)). Also Titus, *Indian Islam*, chaps. i, ii, on the policy of the Moslem conquerors in India.

Islam¹⁰³ likewise follows divergent practices, as evidenced by the examples of Egypt,¹⁰⁴ Iraq,¹⁰⁵ and Syria,¹⁰⁶ on one hand, and Saudi Arabia¹⁰⁷ and Yemen, on the other.¹⁰⁸ The attitude of Mohammedan subjects towards the state is naturally dependent on the character of the state, whether it is or is not under Mohammedan rule, the latter being the case in India and China, the former in Malaya.¹⁰⁹ The attitude of the ruling dynasty or individual ruler, whether orthodox or heretical, is always and everywhere a definite factor in shaping the relations between religion and state in Islam.

8. TYPOLOGY II: THE NEW FAITH

As we have already seen, the division of religions into traditional and founded cults is somewhat artificial, since spontaneous religious activity has often played an important part in the development of traditional cults. Furthermore, the founders of religion have sometimes acted as reformers and transformers rather than as creators. However, the division into traditional and founded religions does have its heuristic value, as can be seen in its implications with regard to the problem of religion and state.

So far our typology has followed the process of differentiation, articulation, and elaboration in both religious and political organization. Now we must concentrate our attention on one of the most significant phenomena in religion and one that has

¹⁰³ A. Eustace Haydon, *Modern Trends in World-Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 3 ff., 94 ff., 115 ff., 191 ff.

¹⁰⁴ George Young, *Egypt* ("The Modern World: A Survey of Historical Forces" (Benn, 1927)).

¹⁰⁵ Richard Coke, *The Heart of the Middle East* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1925); Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925); Henry A. Foster, *The Making of Modern Iraq: A Product of World Forces* (Williams & Norgate, 1935); Ernest Main, *Iraq: From Mandate to Independence* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1935).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Frederick Jones Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* ("William Bross Lectures: Bross Library", Vol. V (T. & T. Clark, 1912)), on the main religious communities and their constitution.

¹⁰⁷ H. St. J. B. Philby, *Arabia* ("The Modern World: A Survey of Historical Forces" (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930)), chap. ii on Abdul Wahhab; *The Heart of Arabia: A Record of Travel and Exploration* (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1922); *Arabia of the Wahhabis* (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1928); Amin Rihani, *Maker of Modern Arabia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928); Hans Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the East* (Routledge, 1929), chap. ix.

¹⁰⁸ Persia steers a medium course: Henry Filmer, *The Pageant of Persia: A Record of Travel in Persia* (Kegan Paul, 1937), chaps. xi, xii. On the Shiite *taqiya* ("dissimulation") cf. Ignaz Goldziher, "Das Prinzip der Taqiya", *ZDMG*, IX (1906), 213 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Bernhard Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of the East Indian Archipelago* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943), pp. 51 ff.

repeated itself often enough to have tremendous historical importance—the emergence of a *new faith* prepared for by the protest against and rejection of the traditional cult. The change affects all fields of expression of religious experience—theology, cult, and organization. In all religions hitherto discussed except Mohammedanism, changes in the collective religious status have occurred only through political events like conquest or change of dynasty or through transformations effected by theological speculation and devotional preferences. We can cite examples of such collective reorientation in the history of the Roman religion prior to the Empire, in the Egyptian, Babylonian, Vedic-Brahmic, Germanic, Celtic, and Slavic religions, to say nothing of those of the primitive peoples. The cult, in these cases a traditional and collective (public) affair, exerts its integrative powers as a tribal, regional, or national institution. Its organization, notwithstanding the development of more or less stratified bodies of religious functionaries, is identical with or closely parallel to the secular one. Multiplication as well as unification of cults in one state can at this stage originate only from conquest, immigration, political changes, and similar outside influences. All that changes completely with the founding of new groups deriving their impulse from creative individual leadership.¹¹⁰

It is generally agreed that the emergence of a great new religious faith is one of the inexplicable mysteries which have accompanied the ascent of man and bears the most convincing testimony to the contingency and spontaneity of his spiritual history. We have reviewed the origin of the great founded religions from this point of view and have stressed the fact that no prior preparation and pathbreaking could alone explain the emergence of the new inspiration and its effect. Before we examine the impact of the emergence of a new faith on the state, however, one instance must be recalled which seems to contradict our division of religious development into before and after the break. In studying the various forms of religious organization, we have met with certain associations in primitive and more civilized society which indicate that even here individual choice and decision in religious life play a part as new organizations secretly and openly challenge traditional and official institutions. Examples are the so-called “secret societies” and “mystery cults”.¹¹¹ These groups, it must be admitted, owe their existence

¹¹⁰ Chap. v.

¹¹¹ Chap. v, secs. 2 and 3.

to some kind of initiative apparently similar in character to the one from which have sprung the great founded religions. At times records of their origin are scanty and fragmentary; at others, events surrounding the emergence of a new cult have been well perpetuated in the collective memory of the group concerned. Be that as it may, the existence and the growth of such grouping indicate a new phase in the development of the relation of religion and state, coming to full expression in the world religions. As the expressions "secret" and "mystery" indicate, such groups have a tendency to isolate themselves from the main community. In their relation to the state we notice divergent attitudes, ranging from indifference, expressed in isolation and withdrawal, to active opposition and enmity.¹¹² The latter may be only casual, directed against an individual ruler or government, or it may be a matter of principle. In extreme cases it appears as religiously motivated revolution and anarchism. Examples are provided by *collegia illicita* in the Roman Empire, which were held in suspicion or suppressed because of their political aims; by certain Mohammedan, mainly Shiite, groups; and by the Chinese secret societies. The reasons and motives for active opposition to the state vary. They may be reactions against persecution and thus be secondary or may be based on principles expressed in the theology, ideology, and political theory of the group. In the latter case we have objection to means or instruments of the policy of the state such as coercion, violence, or war; or to theoretical principles and practices with which a state has identified itself.¹¹³ In ancient Israel we find groups like the Anavim, Essenes, and the Therapeutae;¹¹⁴ Greece had its Eleusinian and Dionysian mysteries; and the Roman state experienced the influx of cultic groups from Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, and Persia. The Sunnite Mohammedan states were threatened by the opposition of Shiite groups, of the Kharijites, the *ikhwan as-safa*, the Batinites and the Karmatians, the followers of various *mahdi*, etc. In India, with its motley ethnic and social communities, owing to the national character and religious principles antagonisms have rarely become as acute there as elsewhere, at least before the introduction of Mohammedanism.¹¹⁵ Yet it has, like

¹¹² Cf. above, chap. v, secs. 2-3.

¹¹³ Chap. v, secs. 10-12.

¹¹⁴ William O. E. Oesterley and Theodore H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development* (S.P.C.K., 1930), I, 299, 346 ff.; II, 323 ff.; Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, chap. xxiv; "Therapeuten" (art.), in *PWRE*, X (1924), 2321 ff.; Causse, *Groupe ethnique*, chap. viii.

¹¹⁵ Titus, *Indian Islam*, chap. ii.

Rome, Persia, China, and Japan, witnessed the rise not only of the type of groups so far dealt with but also of some cults destined to become world religions.

9. TYPOLOGY III: UNIVERSAL RELIGIONS

The *third* stage of religion-state relations is characterized by a high degree of political development and an insistent claim for universality on the part of the religious community. The number of followers is indicative but not decisive for the classification of a cult as a world religion. Inasmuch as it is now not only the group but also the individual that counts, because the attitude towards the state which he takes is his very own responsibility, the numerical and political strength of the religious organization at this stage of development is no longer the only decisive factor. In other words, it is the *intensity* of the religious experience which determines the religious attitude towards the state in the new religious communities.

All major cults have started as minority faiths. They grew in number and in cohesion. Eventually the state which appeared or was identified with a traditional cult had to face the challenge which the birth and growth of the new religion would entail. Several possibilities are now open. The state may profess and assume an attitude of indifference; it may adopt the new religion; or it may reject and persecute the religious upstarts. The Roman state began with the first, shifted to the third, and settled permanently in the second attitude toward Christianity. Buddhism was coldly and even harshly received in China, more tolerantly in the Indian states, and experienced varying treatment in Japan. Zoroastrianism was tolerated, then accepted during the Persian rule, and was persecuted only after the Mohammedan conquest. Manichaeism was persecuted at its inception in its home country (martyrdom of Mani), but later became a state religion in Central Asia, in the state of the Uigurs, gaining a foothold as far east as China, where it eventually disintegrated because of persecution. Confucianism also came to know oppression from the state (era of the great Shih Huang Ti), only later to be the dogma of the state *par excellence*, whereas Taoism never succeeded in overcoming the suspicion and even the oppression of its native state in spite of the patronage of some individual rulers.

This brief summary shows that the initial attitude of the state towards new cults frequently reverses itself completely and repeatedly in the course of history. The important steps usually are: the transplanting of the cult into another than the native state, as in the case of Christianity, Mohammedanism, Manichaeism, Buddhism, Confucianism; the fall or change of dynasty, ruling class, or government; or the decline and fall of the state and the emergence and establishment of a new centre of power. All these changes affect the development of the religious groups. It is, of course, particularly interesting to study contemporary religion in this light and to examine the impact of the great political changes throughout the world upon the great organized faiths, but this task must be left to the historian; and, after this brief excursion into the historical field, we shall resume our typological review.

The intensified religious experience which caused the emergence and growth of the universal religions necessarily produces a transformed attitude towards reality in all its aspects. It is rather difficult to generalize upon this changed attitude. Speaking broadly, it implies a less optimistic acceptance of the world, a certain amount of critical reserve and alienation from it.¹¹⁶ In extreme cases it results in renunciation, withdrawal, and self-mortification. In practically all of the great religions we can indicate the tenor of the message of the new faith on the basis of some fundamental documents which it produced. There is developed a comprehensive interpretation of the world and of life compressed into theological statements, treatises, sermons, hymns, etc. The "ideal" of the new community is described and outlined, and, inasmuch as it may include a definite programme for the organization of society, it will serve as the panacea of "reform". The implications for the relation of state and religion, that is, the existing state and the desired order, are obvious.

There is one more implication of paramount importance in the transformation of the attitude towards the world produced by the new religious experience. Responsibility, which in traditional religion is borne by the group, whether tribe, town, or nation, shifts with the intensification of religious experience brought by great inspired leaders to the solitary individual. The performance of cultic duties, formerly considered to be the major criterion of religious righteousness, is now superseded by elements

¹¹⁶ Cf. above, chap. iii, sec. 4.

of personal religion such as intention, inward disposition, and personal conviction and action. Thus the religious and ethical teachings of the prophets of the Old Testament can be interpreted as being preparations for the replacement of the religion of the collective law by the New Testament religion of personal justification by means of faith and works. Mohammed's denunciation of the old pagan rites paved the way for personal faith. The message of the Buddha, recommending individual search for the realization of truth, is an abrogation of the religion of the Brahmana period, with its insistence on collective rites. However, this interpretation, as we have previously intimated, is not wholly correct. There is evidence of deep, personal religious experience in many of the old cults as well as much collectivism and nomism in the great world religions, particularly of late. There is truth, however, in the generalization that, by and large, deepened religious experience and the transformed world outlook which was its consequence made for a higher appreciation of the responsibility and value of the religious personality. We will see what reactions these developments provoked.

10. THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS

We have already sketched the sociological effect of the activity of the great founders and have traced some of the main stages in the development of the organizational structure of the new community (chap. v, secs. 5-9). Having heretofore considered only the internal development in the religious brotherhood, we must now examine the policy towards the state of a religion which is now no longer a traditional cult but a faith of different character, with different standards and values and with a different social and political orientation to the world. One such religious group might try to extend its religious dominion over the entire population of the state, willing to pay the price of such success with inevitable compromises. Another might attempt to establish a "communion of saints", irrespective of boundaries, living rigidly and exclusively according to the statutes of the faith. Much will depend on whether the religious community regards itself as a select, permanently limited group or as the nucleus from which to convert the entire community and eventually the world. In the former case, a definition of the relation of the group to the state need be determined only when the latter threatens the

realization of the ideal. The second outlook might lead to an attempt to conquer the state and use it as an instrument to help achieve the supreme goal. The difference between the two alternatives appears to be more quantitative than anything else. All groups will admit that the ideal is not completely realizable, though they will vary in their estimation of the extent that it is so. This is an illustration of the thesis, so familiar to many a *homo religiosus*, that because of the imperfect state of this world there can never be a perfect society on earth. Though such resignation has actually determined historical development to a very large extent, practically none of the great world religions has ever admitted other than practical difficulties and hindrances, insisting that it may have modified but that it has never abandoned the ideal.

What, then, are the conditions which have so often impeded attempts to transform the state according to the ideal of a communion of saints and have forced religious groups so frequently to choose withdrawal and resignation as the only recourse in establishing a society of the "elect"? This question is, of course, answered differently by different groups and by different theologians within one group. One answer would stress personal objections to individual rulers and representatives. Another and more serious would inveigh against the practices and methods upon which the very existence of an efficient government depends, such as taxation, military service, the oath, or, more generally, compulsion and violence. The question arises as to why these factors, incipiently operative already in primitive organizations, should be the cause of friction between religious groups and the state at higher levels of cultural development also. The answer is: the increased tension produced by stricter political organization, on the one hand, and the transformation of religious values and standards and the new emphasis on individual religious and moral responsibility, on the other. Since the study of these two developments pertains to the history of politics and ethics and the comparative study of morals, they are beyond our scope here. The evaluation of the transformation which new religious movements have effected in the development of human behaviour must be judged according to the respective theological and philosophical standards of the student. Our descriptive study is concerned with its sociological effects.

The attitudes of the various great founded religions have not only changed in the course of their history, but have from their

beginnings differed greatly from one another. It is interesting to compare Mohammedanism and Zoroastrianism with Buddhism and Manichaeism. In the first two there is not the fundamental objection to coercion and the taking of life (war) which is common to the others. Mohammedan and, to a lesser extent, Zoroastrian theology is in consequence relatively optimistic in its hopes for an ideal state, whereas, in spite of the emergence of Buddhist and Manichaeic states, neither Manichaeic nor Buddhist theology, with the exception of some Japanese Buddhist sects, has ever attempted to reconcile the Way of Renunciation with a positive philosophy of the state.

One additional observation should be made regarding the typically different attempts to realize the ideal of a "communion of saints". We have seen previously that, in the history of the founded religions, increase in membership stimulates development in religious thought, activities, and organization. We also found reactions and regressions and attempts to reorient the communion of the faithful according to the "original" ideals in the histories of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Accordingly, our outline of a typology of relations between religion and state must do justice to the dynamics of the historical development. Each of the "reform" movements had its "philosophy" of the state. The original attempt to establish a Christian, Buddhist, or Mohammedan ideal community was each only the first of many. The difference in these attempts is due not merely to the shifting of emphasis in theology and in popular religion within the great religious communities but also to the changing character and policy of the states concerned. Ernst Troeltsch, availing himself of numerous standard histories of the Christian church, has brilliantly traced the nature and development of the various conceptions of society within the different Christian groups and bodies, including their theories of the state, but much has still to be done for the great non-Christian faiths.

II. THE CONQUEST OF THE STATE

We are now prepared to reopen the discussion on the opportunities for a religious group to "conquer" the state and put into effect its own religious and social programme. Since, at least at the beginning, there will always be a certain percentage of the

population adhering to another faith (one or several of the traditional cults, for example), an attempt has to be made to win them over. A variety of methods for obtaining control can be used, such as, for example mission and instruction, persuasion and enticement, coercion and force. Each of these devices has been utilized by all the great religions at one time or another. The deplorable spectacle of followers of the same religious leader turning against one another in the pursuit of their ideal is found in the history of every religion. We saw that some groups, united by a characteristic religious experience, would never make an effort to "capture" the state and might even oppose any such attempt on grounds of principle. We will dismiss groups with this attitude for the time being and concentrate on those striving towards the ideal of a "holy" state. The chances of success are, no doubt, proportionate to the religious and political strength and to the efficiency of the group. The Mohammedan holy army, the warlike organized Sikh, and the followers of Cromwell represent a revolutionary type; the ecclesiastical organization of the earlier Catholic, the Mazdayasnian, and the Lamaistic ecclesiastical bodies represent the slowly developing type. All of them have been successful in their struggle at some time. What happens in the case of a revolutionary or gradual conquest of the state? The victorious religious group has to establish itself. The major objectives would be to ensure the proper functioning of the state, to provide for an adequate form of government, and to undertake to solve the problem of religious minorities. It tests again the religious convictions and strength and the political power and skill of the leaders. All this has to be done in accordance with the leading principles and ideals of the new faith. Religious groups, long before they dream of conquering the state, may cultivate political ideals and develop well-defined conceptions of the form of government desired for the ideal community as a ruling "aristocracy" of the elect or an equalitarian "democracy". They also may improvise on taking over power. They might make drastic changes after obtaining control of the state. Among the duties of the new magistrate will be the enforcement and supervision of the "right" religious attitude. Sometimes changes have been brought about simply by the conversion of the rulers; often they have proved to be very deep and far-reaching transformations and revolutions affecting the greater part of a nation or all of it and covering a long period of time. Some examples will illustrate the foregoing point.

12. THREE EXAMPLES: CONFUCIANISM, BUDDHISM, CHRISTIANITY

A. CONFUCIANISM

There has been much discussion whether Confucianism has to be considered as a religion or an ethico-political "system."¹¹⁷ Though the original teachings of the founder seem to point to the latter view, it is difficult to deny that Kung Fu-tse's conception of a universal cosmic, moral, and ritual law reveals a fundamentally religious type of experience. "The laws, the principles, the systems, and the process which are referred to are all the general experience of the law of nature" (in Chinese, the *tao*).¹¹⁸ The great sage was obviously not so much of a rationalist as some have pictured him, and the later development of Confucianism,¹¹⁹ especially the growth of the cult of the founder,¹²⁰ indicates that it is, at least sociologically, to be regarded as a quasi-religious group. It would be difficult to over-estimate the part which this system played in integrating Chinese society and in shaping its government, administration, and education.¹²¹ Only recently an interesting inquiry was made into the causes of the gradual establishment of Confucianism as the official doctrine and into the means by which this was effected. Here again the outlook of the ruler was absolutely decisive. The emperors of the early Han dynasty,¹²² surrounded and partly educated by Confucian students and disciples, introduced Confucian practices, ceremonies, and examinations.¹²³ The emperor Kao Tsu, originally opposed to the doctrine, was converted for political reasons and seems to have been the first to promote Confucianists to high positions in the

¹¹⁷ On Chinese philosophy, especially socio-political, cf. William S. A. Poll, *Chinese Political Philosophy* ("Columbia University Political Science Classics" (New York; A. A. Knopf, 1925)), especially chap. iv; Liang Chi-Chao, *History of Chinese Political Thought during the Early Tsin Period* (Kegan Paul, 1930); Elbert Duncan Thomas, *Chinese Political Thought* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1927); Latourette, *The Chinese*, II, 132 ff.

¹¹⁸ Liang Chi-Chao, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹¹⁹ Cf. O. Cullmann, "La Mystique du confucianisme: le saint", *RHP*, XI (1931), 203 ff.; Otto Franke, "Die Chinesen", in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, I, 193 ff.; and Franke's *Studien zur Geschichte des Konfuzianischen Dogmas und der chinesischen Staatsreligion* (1920).

¹²⁰ Franz X. Biallas, *Konfuzius und sein Kult* (Peking and Leipzig: Peking Verlag, 1928); John K. Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius* (New York and London: Century Co., 1932).

¹²¹ Cf. the analysis of the sociological implications of the Confucian system by Weber, *G.A.*, I, 395 ff., 430 ff.

¹²² Homer H. Dubs, "The Victory of Han Confucianism", *JAO*, LVIII (1938), 435 ff. (cited below as "Dubs, Victory").

¹²³ Latourette, *The Chinese*, Vol. I, chap. iii.

state.¹²⁴ Setbacks occurred, and, as in Byzantium, court intrigues, particularly those instigated by powerful women, played a decisive role. Through such influences the emperor Wu, who established the Imperial University in which Confucian scholars taught and in which future government officials were trained, did not hesitate to abandon Confucian principles in many respects. "While his reign marks the beginning of strong Confucian influence in the government, that influence was far from being victorious at this time."¹²⁵ With the last rulers of the early and the emperors of the later Han dynasty, however, the victory of Confucianism was complete.¹²⁶

During this later period Confucianism had opponents who competed for royal favour, but neither of the two great religious groups, the Taoist and the Buddhist, nor any of the philosophical schools, like the Mohists and the so-called "Legalists",¹²⁷ succeeded in officially replacing Confucianism. The attitude of the latter, and consequently the policy of the government, shifted with the personalities of the rulers and with political circumstances, but Taoism and Buddhism, even when favoured by certain emperors and dynasties (e.g., the T'ang), remained in the minority, while the Buddhists occasionally actually suffered from the hostility of the court. Restrictions on religious groups and even open persecution were frequent, for which various reasons have been advanced.¹²⁸ The quietism and individualism of the school of Lao-tse and the pessimism, asceticism, hierarchism, and reputed "superstition" of Mahayana Buddhism were harshly criticized by Confucian philosophers. The failure of the "nonconformists" to participate in political life and to appreciate official tradition was resented by the government on many occasions. Sir Charles Eliot has aptly remarked that Chinese Buddhism had a double aspect and appears sometimes as "almost the established church" and at other times as a "persecuted sect".¹²⁹ The emperor Wu Ti was a particularly enthusiastic Buddhist. There was, on the other hand, an ambiguity in the policy of K'ang-hsi, who included Buddhism in his Sacred Edict against heresy, though at other

¹²⁴ Homer H. Dubs, "The Attitude of Han Kao Tsu to Confucianism", *FAO*, LVII (1937), 172 ff., esp. pp. 176 ff.

¹²⁵ Dubs, *Victory*, p. 443.

¹²⁶ Shryock, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. iii and vii.

¹²⁷ On the legalists cf. Liang Chi-Chao, *op. cit.*, chap. vii.

¹²⁸ Latourette, *The Chinese*, p. 212.

¹²⁹ Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism: An Historical Sketch* (London: E. Arnold, 1921), III, 236, 239.

times he favoured Buddhist piety. It has been pointed out that the objection to Buddhism from the side of the state was really directed against "extravagances", but that certain Buddhist concepts and rites could well be harmonized with official Confucian aims and ideals. In fact, Buddhism and Taoism had their influence on the official dogma of the state, as can be seen most clearly in the syncretistic system of the highly revered Confucian doctor of the Sung era, Chu Hsi (1130-1200).¹³⁰ Other cults, like Manichaeism and Nestorianism,¹³¹ which flourished in China after the T'ang era, but were vigorously opposed by "orthodox" thinkers like Han Yü (768-824), contributed but little to the formation of the powerful dogma which was to be the official foundation of the state up to the revolution of 1912.¹³² The great cohesive power of this system still operates¹³³ and may yet play a part in the integration of "reconstructed" China.

Confucianism, ethnically and nationally bound, as it were, sprang from an attempt to reorient Chinese society and the state according to the true principles of a cosmic order, and for this reason we are not surprised to find that through its long history it functioned in close co-operation with the state. Although its conception of the perfect personality (the *Hsun-tse*, or gentleman) and of education toward this ideal seems to indicate an emphasis on individual activity and responsibility,¹³⁴ the general orientation of the system of Kung Fu-tse is collectivistic. What really matters is the welfare of society, which is advanced by following the norm, or *tao*. It is towards this end that the state is striving, operating through government and administration, which are really the central concern of Confucian thought. The emperor as head of

¹³⁰ Joseph Percy Bruce, *Chu Hsi and His Masters* ("Probsthain's Oriental Series", No. XI (London: Probsthain, 1923)); Derk Bodde, "The Philosophy of Chu Hsi", *HJAS*, Vol. VII (1942).

¹³¹ Cf. K. L. Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism: A Story of Chinese Mahayana Buddhism*, trans. K. van Wagenen Bugge (Shanghai, China: Commercial Press, 1927); Gerhard Rosenkranz, "Die älteste Christenheit in China in den nestorianischen Quellenzeugnissen", *ZMR*, LII (1937), 193 ff.

¹³² Arthur Norman Holcombe, *The Spirit of the Chinese Revolution* ("Lowell Institute Lectures" (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1930)). Cf. also Harold Archer van Dorn, *Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic, Two Decades of Progress* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1932), esp. chap. iii.

¹³³ Hu Shih, "Confucianism", in Haydon, *Modern Trends in World Religions*, pp. 46 ff., 81 ff., 245 ff.: "We may say 'Confucianism is dead; Long live Confucianism'" (p. 178); Latourette, *The Chinese*, I, 479 ff.; Shryock, *op. cit.*, chap. xiv.

¹³⁴ Cf. Ernest Richard Hughes, "The Individual in Chinese Humanism", in *The Individual in East and West*, ed. E. R. Hughes (London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1937), chap. iv (and iii).

the state is also head of the various ecclesiastical bodies, with the privilege of defining and altering doctrine, of introducing or abolishing cultic practices, of controlling the ecclesiastical organization and the establishment of monasteries, etc. His activities in the state cult—the emperor as “lord of the spirits”—have often been described.¹³⁵ This extreme “Erastianism” has its roots in Indian as well as Chinese ideas, as Eliot has well pointed out. “The Buddhists”, he explains, “though tenacious of freedom in spiritual life, had no objection to the patronage of princes.”¹³⁶

B. BUDDHISM

The situation is quite different in the case of Buddhism's relation to the state. There can be no doubt that in its earlier phases Buddhism gives clear evidence of its Indian origin. Its “pessimistic” and “ascetic” attitude and many of its central conceptions are Indian; they are shared by other faiths developed on the soil of India. They are doctrines of individual redemption and imply theoretically and manifest practically indifference towards society and the state. These teachings, however, are not confined to India, a country which has rarely achieved a closely knit ethnic and political unity.

Only three times in the long history of India has there been an “empire”; none of them, however, lasted for a great length of time (Maurya, third-fourth century B.C.; Gupta, fifth-sixth century A.D.; Mogul rule).¹³⁷ The existence of many smaller and larger “states” in India has been theoretically justified by Hindu metaphysico-political principles,¹³⁸ the chief of which is the conception of *dharma*, the universal cosmic, moral, and ritual law. *Danda* (coercion or sanction) is the bulwark against social chaos, against life according to *matsya-nyaya*, the logic of the fish, or war of all against all (“bellum omnium contra omnes”). “No *danda*, no

¹³⁵ R. K. Douglas, *Society in China*, chap. i and above, sec. 1.

¹³⁶ Eliot, *op. cit.*, III, 234-35.

¹³⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I: *Ancient India*, ed. E. J. Rapson (Cambridge University Press, 1922).

¹³⁸ Cf. the interesting analysis by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, “Hindu Politics”, in *The Cultural Heritage of India* (Belur Math: Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, n.d.) (cited hereafter as “CHI”), and *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus: A Study in Comparative Politics* (Leipzig: Markert & Peters, 1922). The former study is followed by us in the text. Cf. also D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Hindu Polity* (Benares: Hindu University, 1925), esp. chaps. iii-vi on the constituents, types, and ends of the Hindu state. (Cf. chap. vi, n. 48.)

state."¹³⁹ By it, the order of *namatya* (property) and of *varna* (classes) is safeguarded. The individual determines his duties and rights (*svadharma*) according to the *varnashrama* (position and stages of life).¹⁴⁰ *Rashtra* (the country) is constituted by property and *praja* (population) and integrated by the government, which may be republican or monarchical.¹⁴¹ The ruler,¹⁴² who was originally elected (for special purposes) but whose position later became hereditary, was controlled by the *sabha*, or "council", which at least theoretically represented the will of the people and ensured the smaller local units a measure of autonomy. The ruler might seek to become a *sarva bhauma* or *chakravarti* (universal monarch), as has often happened in Indian history. The Indian kings, however, were never priestly (either in Vedic times or in the Middle Ages or in the South),¹⁴³ but have frequently been under the strong influence of their religious advisers. The *purohita* (court chaplain) is the most important figure next to the ruler. According to the Brahmana texts, the king must honour the *purohita*, and according to the Arthashastra (lawbook, 300 B.C.),¹⁴⁴ the king must follow him as the disciple does his master, the son his father, and the servant his lord.¹⁴⁵ The history of pre- and post-Buddhist India is a long record of the power and influence of the Brahmins.

Regardless of the moot question to whom the Buddha and his great disciples specifically addressed their message, the early mission of Buddhism beyond the boundaries of India recognized no geographical, ethnical, or political limitations. Most students agree that this message was addressed to the individual seeker for salvation and does not concern itself with problems resulting from the "natural" organization of human society, but expressly rejects the claims of family, clan, etc., on the true followers of the

¹³⁹ Cf. Sarkar, "Hindu Politics", p. 263.

¹⁴⁰ On these conceptions laid down already in the laws of Manu and Kautilya's Arthashastra and other religio-legal literature in ancient India cf. H. Ch. Chakladar, "Social Life in India", *CHI*, III, 768 ff. Cf. E. Washburn Hopkins, "The Growth of Law", in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, chap. xii, pp. 244 ff.; Harry E. Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (Harrap, 1938), I, 75 ff.

¹⁴¹ Types and classes of rulers and the concept of sovereignty are discussed by J. Ch. De, "Sidelights on the Hindu Concept of Sovereignty", *CHI*, III, 249 ff.

¹⁴² The dharma of the king is illustrated with citations from the laws of Manu and the Mahabharata by Hilko Wiardo Schomerus, *Politik und Religion in Indien* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1928).

¹⁴³ Cf. Sarkar, "Hindu Politics", pp. 13 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Narendra Nath Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Policy* (Based on the Arthashastra of Kautilya) (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1914); Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-94; Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, chaps. i and ii.

¹⁴⁵ Schomerus, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff.; Richard Fick, *Die Soziale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien* (Kiel: G. F. Häsel, 1897), chap. vii; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff., 156 ff.

law.¹⁴⁶ No collective life, except in the form of the "order" and its cells, can be of any positive value for the ultimate goal. It is characteristic of Buddhism that it is not satisfied with any ideal other than attainment of the highest transcendental goal: liberation through renunciation.¹⁴⁷ This renunciation includes all social relations and treats whatever belongs to *samsara* (this changing world) as *adiaphora* (irrelevant things). We need not describe or analyse the conception of the "path" to salvation outlined in the Buddha's fundamental sermons and elaborated and explained in later Buddhist theology and philosophy.¹⁴⁸ Is it conceivable that this high ideal of the Enlightened One could have been accepted and realized by the masses? The founder himself is credited with the establishment of two sets of precepts: one for those who were uncompromisingly striving after perfection, and who, therefore, practised complete renunciation, and one for those who remained in the world and had to be content with a lesser degree of perfection.¹⁴⁹ Thus certain problems which did not exist for members of the order of monks and of nuns had to be solved if an individual or group (village, tribe, city, nation) was determined to follow the lay Buddhist path.

Even during the lifetime of the Buddha, the new faith was able by missionary preaching to convert some minor rulers.¹⁵⁰ It is unfortunate that we have so little information about the political history of the period between the death of the Buddha and the Gupta era (A.D. 319), for in the latter Indian Buddhism reached its peak, declining soon afterwards.¹⁵¹ There are no indications that in this early period Buddhist converts met with antagonism or persecution in neighbouring territories.¹⁵² The princes who "took their refuge" in the Buddha attempted to apply the lofty precepts of the doctrine in their states. The results were naturally somewhat different in India from non-Indian countries.¹⁵³ Owing

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (Kegan Paul, 1933), chap. ii: "The Ascetic Ideal".

¹⁴⁷ Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, introd. par. 14: "Eastern Pessimism and Renunciation".

¹⁴⁸ Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha as Legend and History* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1931), chap. vii, and above, n. 146. Cf. also above, chap. v, nn. 112, 118.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. above, chap. v, secs. 5 ff.

¹⁵⁰ Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, chap. xxxiv: "Expansion of Indian Influence".

¹⁵¹ On the history, organization, and constitution of the kingdoms of the early Buddhist era (Kosala, Magadha, etc.) cf. T. W. Rhys Davids in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, chap. vii, pp. 778 ff. On social conditions: Fick, *Soziale Gliederung*, who characterizes well the different estates of early Buddhist society. Cf. also Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 224 ff.

¹⁵³ Cf. Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, introd. para. 20: "Church and State".

to physical, cultural, and political circumstances, conditions were different in China, Japan, Tibet, and Mongolia from those in India and south-eastern Asia.¹⁵⁴ In the course of its expansion the community of the followers of the Enlightened One went through the different stages which have been outlined previously, and we find some interesting doctrinal, cultic, and organizational parallels to the history of the early Christian church. In its earliest stage Buddhism, however, developed slowly and rather conservatively along democratic—congregationalist—lines rather than in the direction of a centralized hierarchical constitution, and the laity was left without much of an organization.¹⁵⁵ The well-known fact that the once-flourishing Buddhist communities were soon thoroughly destroyed on Indian soil no doubt resulted partially at least from the weak position in which they found themselves in contrast with the strong lay organization of their (Reformed) Hindu and Mohammedan adversaries.¹⁵⁶

In the history of Indian Buddhism at least two types of relationship between religion and the state are discernible. The first is represented by the old traditional small territorial ("feudal") state of the period before Alexander the Great. Its religious policy is represented in the *suttas* (texts) of the southern canon and in some of the historic ecclesiastical reports as mild and unaggressive. The second type is illustrated by the first Indian empire under the Maurya dynasty. The third ruler was the famous king Asoka (272–232 B.C.), grandson of the founder, Chandragupta, and a convert to Buddhism. He attempted to realize the ideal of a Buddhist state on a large scale.¹⁵⁷ Since we are fortunate enough to possess in his well-known inscriptions original documents over a period of time,¹⁵⁸ we are able to follow the procedures of his policy in some detail. Though we do not know to what extent the royal intentions and ordinances were actually carried out, we can at least gain a fair picture of a Buddhist Indian state of this period. In the beginning of his

¹⁵⁴ James B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage* (Macmillan Co., 1928), chaps. vii–x; Clarence H. Hamilton, *Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

¹⁵⁵ Jean Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rajagṛha: Introduction à l'histoire des canons et des sectes bouddhiques* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1926), pp. 330 ff., 308 ff., 329 ff.; Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chap. xi: "Monks and Laymen". Cf. above, chap. vi, sec. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Max Weber, *G.A.*, II, 319 ff.; Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chap. xxiv: "Decadence of Buddhism in India".

¹⁵⁷ Vincent Arthur Smith, *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901); F. W. Thomas, "Asoka: The Imperial Patron of Buddhism", in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, chap. xx.

¹⁵⁸ The rock inscriptions ("Edicts") are translated by Smith, *Asoka*, pp. 114 ff.

reign Asoka followed the usual cruel policy of conquest; soon, however, he repented and in a moving document proclaimed his new ideals ("His Majesty desires for all animate beings security, control of passions, peace of mind and joyousness").¹⁵⁹ In the ninth year of his reign Asoka became a lay disciple and in the eleventh was ordained a monk, but he continued to rule his country and was probably excused from precepts which would have hindered his activities as a ruler.¹⁶⁰ He renounced military glory and sought to spread the "good law" by missions and to foster the happiness and spiritual welfare of his people during the rest of his forty-year reign.¹⁶¹ His governors were ordered to hold regular assemblies for the exposition of the law, and special official supervisors (*dharma mahamatra*) were appointed to supervise its application.¹⁶² Among their duties were the care of the poor and aged, the prevention of unjust punishment, the administration of pious works, and almsgiving. The behaviour of his subjects was to be regulated according to the ethical ideals of the Buddha,¹⁶³ and the king saw that the rule of *ahimsa*, which prohibited killing any living creature, was strictly enforced by imposing a vegetarian diet at court and throughout the realm.¹⁶⁴ Pilgrimages were substituted for hunting.¹⁶⁵ The Asokavadana-sutra describes, in the literary style characteristic of this particular kind of writing,¹⁶⁶ the royal visit to the holy places of the faith. On the whole, it seems as if the monarch did not insist on "orthodoxy" in a narrow sense, but he was eager to see his subjects behave in consonance with the precepts of the law. Apparently he did not abolish capital punishment. His attitude towards other faiths was tolerant, but he insisted on personal adherence to some particular creed. There is every reason to assume that Asoka was sincere in his zeal for the Buddhist ideals.¹⁶⁷

The Buddhism which became the official religion of the state of Asoka was of a conservative type and did not differ in essence from that of other Hinayana countries. Ceylon,¹⁶⁸ which was under the missionary influence of the great Maurya king, as well as

¹⁵⁹ Edict XIII (Smith, *Asoka*, p. 17).

¹⁶⁰ Minor Rock Edict.

¹⁶¹ Edicts II and VII; Pillar Edict.

¹⁶² Edicts III and V.

¹⁶³ Smith, *Asoka*, p. 25.

¹⁶⁴ Edicts I and IV.

¹⁶⁵ Edict VIII.

¹⁶⁶ On the Avadana and their legendary character see Moritz Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* (Leipzig: C. F. Amelang, 1920), II, 215 ff. On the Asokavadana (Chinese translation in third century A.D.) cf. *ibid.*, pp. 224 ff.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Edicts VI, VII, XII.

¹⁶⁸ On Ceylonese Buddhism cf. Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, chap. xxxv; Pratt, *op. cit.*, chap. vii.

Burma¹⁶⁹ and Siam¹⁷⁰ adopted this form of faith as their official religion. In Siam-Thailand the king is until this day the head of the ecclesiastical body as well as of the state. He appoints the "patriarch", and state confirmation is necessary for the election of abbots and for the foundation of a new monastery.¹⁷¹ "Yet as regards inner organization—as regulated by the law of Buddha—the order was self-governing; the king was merely its lay defender." Nowadays the ecclesiastical body is increasingly subject to state domination. It is represented, according to a recent ecclesiastical law (1902), by a "church assembly formed by the chief abbots and their assistants". The recent kings since Mongkut have taken a lively interest in the doctrinal, cultural, and organizational aspects of the state religion. According to a modern student, the continued vitality of Buddhism in a changing Siam is due to its close integration with the life of the people.¹⁷² Buddhism is forced to certain compromises. "Buddha, it appears, never forbade his followers to fight a war of self-defence." The *ahimsa* doctrine has never been taken too literally in Thailand. "It was true that Buddhism among the ancient Thais had never been a serious deterrent to their bellicose activities—priests even blessed departing armies; but it did mitigate war's brutality."¹⁷³ The Burmese *samgha*, never as strongly organized as the Siamese, "less active than the Japanese but more vital than the Chinese", is nowadays strictly subordinated to the government.¹⁷⁴ In Cambodia the king is also the head of the church, but has no right to alter doctrine or confiscate ecclesiastical property. "Brahminic" ceremonies are performed at official occasions, as for coronation. Cambodia and Java,¹⁷⁵ where Hinduism and Buddhism were to a certain extent fused, changed under Siamese influence from Mahayana to Hinayana. Buddhism came to

¹⁶⁹ Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, chap. xxxvi. On Burma and its history until 1821 see Godfrey Eric Harvey, *History of Burma from the Earliest Times to 1824* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925). Cf. also Harold Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People* (London: Macmillan, 1917), esp. chaps. x ff.; and now John Leroy Christian, *Modern Burma: A Survey of Political and Economic Development* ("Institute of Pacific Relations" (Cambridge University Press, 1942)).

¹⁷⁰ Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, chap. xxxvii; Pratt, *op. cit.*, chaps. viii, ix.

¹⁷¹ An excellent up-to-date report on Siamese Buddhism, its history, organization, and relation to the modern Thai state, is given in Virginia McLean Thompson, *Thailand: The New Siam* ("Institute of Pacific Relations: International Research Series" (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941)), chap. xviii.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 625 ff., 636 ff.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 637.

¹⁷⁴ Christian, *Modern Burma*, pp. 196 ff.

¹⁷⁵ Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, chaps. xxxviii and xl; Vlekke, *Nusantara*, chaps. i-iii.

China, Japan, Mongolia, and Tibet in the Mahayana interpretation, with a strongly developed supernatural, pluralistic theology, a characteristically altered ethical ideal, intricate metaphysics, elaborate forms of devotion, and a hierarchical organization.¹⁷⁶ It is beyond our scope here to trace the establishment of Mahayana Buddhism in those countries in which it was not to be the official religion of the state, that is, mainly in China and Japan.¹⁷⁷ In the Nara period (eighth century) it enjoyed in Japan a first boom leading to entanglements against which the reformers Dengyo and Kobo protested. When their new congregations in Kyoto and at Hiei-san had in turn developed into ecclesiastical organizations equally compromised politically, the protest of the great reformers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—Dogen and Honen, Shinran and Nichiren—was voiced. Of the resultant bodies, that of Nichiren is the most nationalistic; that of Shinran (Shin-shu) has the strongest political affiliations (Hongwanji rule). There is a noticeable difference between the aggressive Buddhist organizations of Tibet and Japan (cf. the medieval struggles in which the Buddhist monks took a leading part) and the quiescent types of southern Buddhism.

It is instructive to look at Lamaism, the Buddhism of Tibet, as an illustration of one of the two extreme types of relationship between religion and the state which may be realized after the victory and establishment of one cult: the complete control of the state by the ecclesiastical body.¹⁷⁸ Whereas the India of Asoka represents a mild and tempered sort of caesaropapism, Lamaism is a striking example of theocracy. The pagan kingdom of Tibet was converted to Buddhism in the seventh century.¹⁷⁹ Just as the "patriarch" Bodhidharma became the inaugurator of Chinese Buddhism, so Padmasambhava was the founder of Tibetan Buddhism.¹⁸⁰ The original political structure of the kingdom disintegrated with the conquest of the Mongol emperors, and from his time Lamaism, the rule of the country by the spiritual hierarchy, developed. The powerful abbots of some of

¹⁷⁶ Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Book IV; Reischauer, *Japanese Buddhism*, chap. iii.

¹⁷⁷ Sir Charles Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (London: E. Arnold & Co., 1935); cf. above, chap. v, nn. 305, 473; Reichelt, *Chinese Buddhism*, esp. chaps. i and ii. On the independence of the Chinese Buddhist monasteries: Pratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 326 ff.; on Oratories, pp. 330; on revivals, pp. 380 ff.; Lewis Hodous, *Buddhism and Buddhists in China* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. the excellent monograph of Charles Alfred Bell, *The Religion of Tibet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. ii.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, chaps. iv-vi. Cf. above, chap. v, nn. 403 and 408.

the great and influential monasteries, who were well versed in political and military matters, took over the government. Lamaism reorganized itself in the reformation of Tsong-khapa with the foundation of the Yellow church, placing renewed emphasis on ascetic, especially celibate, and spiritual life with meditation and education in sacred knowledge. Under Chinese supremacy the two most powerful ecclesiastical princes were to rule the country. To quote a recent monograph on the Tibetan kingdom: "Not only do the priests influence the state through their monasteries, but they themselves serve also as government officials in civil, and even in military employ."¹⁸¹ Thus, "within the limits of . . . his Kingdom, the Dalai Lama of Tibet is perhaps the most autocratic ruler in the world to-day". The unique prestige of the Tibetan hierarchs rests upon the conception of the *kubilgans*. According to this theory, they are regarded as incarnations of some of the great figures of the Mahayana pantheon.¹⁸² The Panchen Rimpoche ("Tashi Lama"), the second great hierarch of Tibet, is less involved in political entanglement than the Dalai Lama, and enjoys, perhaps for this reason, particularly great religious authority.¹⁸³ The ecclesiastical "regent", ruling for the young Dalai Lama before he reaches maturity, is usually chosen from one of the leading six monasteries of the country.

C. CHRISTIANITY

The adoption of Christianity¹⁸⁴ as the religion of the state in Rome involved a series of measures taken through the consecutive reigns from Constantine through the period of Valentinian and Valens to Gratian and Theodosius. The capitals of East Rome and West Rome became the two religious and political centres of the Christian world. The history of the conversion of the Germanic "states" to Christianity records very different methods of

¹⁸¹ Cf. on the administration and government of Tibet in *ibid.*, chaps. x and xiii-xv, esp. pp. 175, 188.

¹⁸² On this theory, which seems to have developed definitely since the fifteenth century, shortly after the death of the great Lama Ge-dun Trup-pa, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 107 ff.

¹⁸³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 104, 190 ff.; Günther Schulemann, *Die Geschichte der Dalailamas* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1911).

¹⁸⁴ There are no comprehensive presentations of the theme "religion and state" in the Christian as well as the non-Christian world on a comparative basis and with a typological approach. Cf. for this whole section: "Religious Institutions" (art.), in *ESS*, XIII, 246 ff., with extensive bibliography on Christian institutions. For Christianity (historically and systematically): Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*; Alexander V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions* ("International Theological Library" (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908)); Latourette, *The History of the Expansion of Christianity*; Charles N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from*

procedure, as the examples of the Goths, Langobards, Franks, Saxons, and Scandinavians indicate. With the rise of the power of the kings of the Franks, this monarchy represented the budding Christian state in the West. A new type of Christian state, the Slavic, came into existence with the introduction of Christianity by the Grand Duke of Kiev. Although it was "Orthodox" Christianity which was brought from Byzantium, the political presuppositions in the old and the new Eastern state were different. Ever since the break between West and East, two different solutions of the problem of church and state have prevailed in the Christian world.

Let us first look at the Eastern solution. Byzantium inherited from Rome the close association of *sacerdotium* with *imperium*. After Justinian, however, it was apparent that the emperor ruled the church as an important department of state, the *jus publicum* containing the *jus sacrum*. In spite of some theoretical and practical attempts by the patriarchs to advance the claims of the church and to limit and ban imperial interference in matters of the faith and ecclesiastical discipline, they never achieved the position of the "Western patriarchs", the popes. The Byzantine

Augustus to Augustine (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940); Cadoux, *The Early Church and the World*; and (in addition to general and monographic studies in church history): *CMedH* and *CModH*; Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904); "American Church History Series"; notes to chap. vi, secs. 8-12; Lars P. Qualben, *A History of the Christian Church* (Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1936); Alexander J. and Robert W. Carlyle, *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1903 ff.); cf. also Charles Howard MacIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West: From the Greeks to the End of the Middle Ages* (Macmillan Co., 1932); William Archibald Dunning, *A History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediaeval* (London: Macmillan & Co.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1930); Fossey J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers* (London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1923); Joseph Cullen Ayer, "On the Mediaeval National Church", *PASChH*, IV (1914), 39 ff.; Alois Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium, Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie des Mittelalters* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1928); Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society* (Libertas, 1936), trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1940); Heinrich Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie* (Leipzig: T. Weicher, 1899); John N. Figgis, *Studies in Political Thought from Gerson to Grocius* (1916); H. M. Smith, *Pre-Reformation in England*; John W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (2nd ed.; London: Methuen & Co., 1941); Robert Henry Murray, *The Political Consequences of the Reformation: Studies in Sixteenth Century Political Thought* (Boston, 1926); James Mackinnon, *The Origins of the Reformation* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939); E. G. Schwiebert, "The Mediaeval Pattern in Luther's View of the State", *ChH*, XII (1943), 98 ff.; Karl Fröhlich, *Gottesreich, Welt und Kirche bei Calvin* (München: Reinhardt, 1930); Henry Melvill Gwatkin, *Church and State in England to Queen Anne* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917); Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIII Century* ("Birkbeck Lectures", 1931-33 (Cambridge University Press, 1934)); Reginald Lane Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought and Learning* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1920); Wilbur K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Allen & Unwin, 1932 ff.); Roland H. Bainton, "The Struggle for Religious Liberty", *Church History*, Vol. X, No. 2 (1941); John N. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings* (Cambridge University Press, 1914); Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the*

emperor, however, proved a more successful protector of the faith than his brother in the West. The violent opposition of ascetics like Theodore of Studion against secular dominion and interference—he also protested against ecclesiastical compliance—did not have a lasting effect.

It is impossible to follow here in detail the development of church-state relations in the Middle Ages in the West in political theory and actual history, but, because of its significance, some of its important phases should be noted. The *first* period covers the time of the origin and growth of the Christian community, the constitution of the episcopally organized church, the theoretical formulation of its principles, the actual organization of its administration over the entire Roman Empire, and, finally, its persecution by the state because of its refusal to participate in the official cult. The *second* is marked by the adoption of the Christian cult as the religion of the state (A.D. 325) and the permanent division into the two realms (A.D. 395). It was followed by the gradual extermination of the traditional pagan as well as of the imported cults. Internally, the Christian community was frequently torn by struggles and discussions over issues of doctrine, cult, and organization. With the exclusion and

Middle Ages, trans. S. B. Chrimes (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1939) (German: *Gottesgnadentum* (1914)); Andrew Forrester Scott Pearson, *Church and State (Political Aspects of Sixteenth Century Puritanism)* (Cambridge University Press, 1928); Henry William Clark, *History of English Nonconformity from Wiclif to the Nineteenth Century* (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1911 ff.); Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Macmillan Co., 1939), esp. chap. iv; John N. Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913); Günther Holstein, *Evangelisches Kirchenrecht* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1928); Charles Clinton Marshall, *The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1931); John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1940); Carl Zollmann, *American Civil Church Law* ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law", Vol. XXVII, No. 181 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907)); W. A. Brown, *The Church, Catholic and Protestant, Church and State in Contemporary America* (New York and London: C. Scribner's Sons, 1935) (with very good biblio.); William Ernest Hocking, *Man and the State* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1926); Frank Gavin, *Seven Centuries of the Problem of Church and State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1938); Albert Hyma, *Christianity and Politics: A History of the Principles and Struggles of Church and State* (J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938); Nils Ehrenström, *Christian Faith and the Modern State: An Ecumenical Approach*, trans. Denzil Patrick and Olive Wyon (S.C.M., 1937); Peter van Dusen, *Church and State in the Modern World* (Rauschenbusch Lectureship Foundation of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1937)); Arthur J. Riley, *Catholicism in New England to 1788* ("Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History", Vol. XXIV (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1936)); Thomas Stearns Eliot, *The Idea of a Christian Society* (Faber, 1939); Luigi Sturzo, *Church and State* (London: G. Bles (Centenary Press), 1939); John Shelton Curtiss, *Church and State in Russia: The Last Years of the Empire, 1900-1917* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940); Daniel A. Binchi, *Church and State in Fascist Italy* ("Royal Institute of International Affairs" (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1941)).

exodus of dissenting groups, called heretical and schismatic by the church, minority communities established themselves. Their relation to the state was for the most part quite different from that of the main ecclesiastical body. A new situation arose with the emergence of the Germanic states. From this time on, the Church of Rome, including the overwhelming majority of all Western Christians, had to deal with a variety of different states. During this epoch the foundations were laid for the conception of a *jus ecclesiasticum* which, based on the sources of the Christian faith in Catholic interpretation and using the method of Roman jurisprudence, regulated and defined the order and constitution of the *civitas Christiana*. The *third* period, from Carolingian times to the end of the fourteenth century, saw the great struggle between the Roman church, representing with widening claims to authority the majority of Christendom, on one side, and the dominant secular power of the Western world, on the other. Though there emerged a number of national states with which the one church had to deal (France, England, Spain, etc.), this dramatic conflict reached its climax in the struggle between the popes and the German-Roman emperors. The organization of the great Christian ecclesiastical body had made new progress, culminating in the elaboration of the doctrine and the cult of the medieval church. The figure of Gregory VII stands for the gigantic attempt to impose a unified order on Christian society, including state and church, and to establish the superiority of spiritual over secular authority. The process of centralization in the church continued and led to a considerable extension of the jurisdiction of its Pontifex Maximus. Claims of the laity as well as those of the episcopate to share in vital decisions and in the government of the church were rejected, though in the latter case not absolutely. We can subdivide the history of the great dramatic struggle between empire and papacy into *three periods*. The first was the domination of the imperial power from Charlemagne to Henry III, which was followed by the gradual ascent of papal authority and prestige, and culminated in such popes as Alexander III and Innocent III and IV, ending with the fateful challenge of Boniface VIII's *Unam sanctam* (1302) ("porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanae creaturae declaramus . . . omnino esse de necessitate salutis"). This ushered in the third phase, marked by the internal dissolution of the papacy, schism, and the rise of the national states. The ideology emerging during the period of transition to a new age (the modern times) is characterized by

such terms as "humanism", "conciliarism", "Renaissance", and "Reformation", all of which led to a curb on the claims of the head of the church so eloquently voiced by clerical interpreters of the canonical law. (The church was defined as the "state *kat' exochen*", by Jacobus of Viterbo.)

The breakdown of the spiritual unity of the West was effected by the *Reformation* and was followed by the establishment of new independent (ecclesiastical and "free") Christian communities claiming to represent the true ecclesia. This marks not only an epoch in history but a typologically different situation. The West, never a complete political unit, but more unified during the hegemony of the German-Roman empire than at any other period, has consisted in modern times of a group of states with shifting prestige. After the Reformation the European states had to choose between three possibilities: (a) remaining loyal to the traditional faith and the established religious community, (b) embracing and establishing one of the Reformed faiths as the official religion of the state, or (c) declining an identification with any of the competing cults. Examples of the first are Spain, France, and the Italian states; of the second, Saxony, Prussia, and Sweden; the small state of Rhode Island in America, with its declaration of tolerance, represents the third possibility. Some countries went through several changes, as did France, England, Holland, and some German states. Some nations split on this issue and separated into different territorial and governmental units, as did Germany and Switzerland. In all European countries the old motto "*Cujus regio ejus religio*" or "*Une loi, une foi, un roi*", remained valid, and the ruler determined the creed of his subjects. For the first time the problem of religious minorities became an acute issue, particularly in the case of the adoption of a state religion (Catholic or Protestant). It was solved by means of coercion in the period during and shortly after the Reformation (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). From this time on there were at least five types of "Christian state" in Europe: Eastern Orthodox (Russia), Roman Catholic, Reformed, Anglican, and Lutheran. With the reintegration of political power, the problem of the nature and limits of sovereignty of the ruler becomes acute, the problem of jurisdiction in secular and spiritual matters has to be solved, and the relation of ruler and subjects has to be redefined. Not only Catholics and Protestants, but Protestants and Protestants, and theocratists and caesaropapists of varying faith and nationality, oppose one another.

With the opposition and revolution of religious and political "nonconformists" of variegated theological and sociological principles (chap. v) there emerged two more suggestions for a new solution of the problem of religion and state. First, attempts were made to establish a Christian state on radically "reformed" principles, realized, for example, in the "Anabaptist" state in Zwickau and Münster, the "Puritan" (Congregationalist) states of New England, and later the Quaker state of Pennsylvania. Second, there was an insistence on separation of the spheres of both church and state, which was supported by the increasingly popular contract idea in both religious and political theory and the emergence of new concepts of toleration culminating in Roger Williams's experiment in Rhode Island. With the cessation of the religious wars, the necessity of political and denominational adjustment, and the unfolding of the new spiritual impulses effected through humanism, spiritualism, and mysticism, the problems of "tolerance" had received political attention as well as philosophical and theological treatment. The eighteenth century saw the practical application of it by rulers "enlightened" by an education along these lines, irrespective of their denominational loyalty, and by republican governments created by these tendencies and less fixed in their denominational affiliations. The modern development thus led to the previously discussed growth and strengthening of individual religious freedom and responsibility, and to the acknowledgment of these rights, even in the case of states with decided denominational preferences. All this worked in practice for the benefit of the small and "nonconformist" groups, a development which can be most clearly studied in the theory and practice of religion in America. Christianity, however, was to remain the official religion in the Western world whatever its interpretation, until it, and not only the institutions to represent it, was challenged in the period of the French Revolution. Not before the twentieth century was this tradition abandoned. Only this century witnesses the substitution on the part of some states of an official anti-Christian for a "tolerant" Christian or an indifferent attitude. To analyse the development of thought ("ideology") preparing for this transformation, and the religious struggle accompanying the social and political crisis of our times as well as the analysis of the meaning of a Christian society in the modern world is beyond our scope here.

In conclusion a word may be added on the relation of church and state in the United States.¹⁸⁵ In America, in contrast to the Erastian and certain exclusive Catholic concepts of churchmanship, all religious bodies are regarded as private societies, recognized by the state(s) as voluntary, self-supporting associations. There is no established church. With the plurality of states, the principal and practical regulation of the rights and duties of the religious bodies varies. Some of the characteristic features of the relation between church and state in the United States are due to the historical development, the Continental background, and the establishment of a federal government. The latter event necessitated, in the first place, a general regulation of the status of religious groups in relation to the federal and state governments. The first amendment to the American Constitution contains a minimum definition of a "Christian establishment"; prohibiting religious tests, it contributed to the disappearance of denominational discrimination in the earlier state constitutions. In the second place, the gradual organization of the denominational bodies on a national scale was facilitated. Traditional standards (background) as well as continued increase in population through immigration balanced this process, but failed to stop it. The tendency toward national and ecumenical unity in the Protestant bodies of the United States shows the same dynamic. Difficulties in any final solution of the problem of religion and state reside, first, in the necessity of adjusting the claims of religious bodies to regulation of both education and conduct of their members, to the claim of society at large, and to the norms and policy of the government; they result, second, from conflicts which may arise from regular or extraordinary measures of the state, provoking opposition among religious groups or their individual members (war, oath, taxation, symbolism (flag), etc.).

¹⁸⁵ Cf. also above, chap. vi, sec. 8 C.

CHAPTER VIII

TYPES OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

I. THE ORGANIZATION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

One final question remains for the sociologist of religion to answer. If communion on the basis of religious experience is possible, what is the organization and constitution of the religious group?¹ As we have suggested above, there is no general agreement regarding the possibility and desirability of communicating religious experience. Protests have been heard repeatedly throughout the history of religion not only against the specific standards which have been set up in the existing religions concerning faith, worship, and organization but also

¹ This chapter owes much to Max Weber's first attempt to analyse types of religious authority systematically (cf. above, chap. i, n. 72). In his somewhat aphoristic classification we miss, however, a treatment of the problems of religious communion and a discussion of "primitive" religion. Considerable material has been collected in anthropological monographs, but sociologists have not taken much advantage of it.

In harmony with my sketch in *Einführung in die Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1930), pp. 52 ff., Gerardus van der Leeuw (*Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, trans. J. E. Turner (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1938), Sec. IIB, VA) has presented an interesting but not entirely satisfactory outline. So much is still to be done in this field that it is not yet possible to present more than another, though somewhat extended, sketch of types of religious authority at the present time.

A very fine characterization of the "man of God", his basic experience, and the impression he makes on others is given by Bernhard Duhm, *Das Geheimnis in der Religion* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1927). Cf. also above, chaps. v (priests, etc.), vi (saints), and vii (sacred rulers), and the corresponding notes; furthermore, see "Priesthood" (art.), in *ERE*, X, 278 ff.; "Divination" (art.), in *ibid.*, IV, 775 ff.; "Sibylline Oracles" (art.), in *ibid.*, XI, 496 ff.; "Priesthood" (art.), in *ESS*, XII, 388 ff.; "Saints and Martyrs" (art.), in *ERE*, X, 49 ff.; Max Weber, *W. und G.*, esp. pars. 2, 4, 6; van der Leeuw, *op. cit.*; Robert R. Marett, *Psychology and Folk-Lore* (London: Methuen & Co., 1920), chap. ix; Wilson Dallam Wallis, *Religion in Primitive Society* (New York: F. S. Crofts Co., 1939), chap. vii; Florian Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), chaps. ii, iii; David Gordon Lyon, "The Consecrated Woman of the Hammurabi Code", in *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Toy* (Oxford University Press, 1912), pp. 391 ff.; Sir James George Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, in *The Golden Bough*, Vols. V-VI (3rd ed.); London: Macmillan & Co., 1914; chap. iv (sacred men and women); N. H. Smith, "The Priesthood and the Temple", in T. W. Manson, *A Companion to the Bible* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), chap. xvi; Erich Fascher, *Prophetes: Eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1927); H. Frick, "Der Begriff des Prophetischen in Islamkunde", in *Studien zur Geschichte des Nahen Ostens*, ed. W. Heffening and W. Kirfel (Leiden; E. J. Brill, 1935), pp. 79 ff.; J. M. Powis Smith, *The Prophets and Their Times* (2nd ed. by William A. Irwin (Cambridge University Press, 1941)); William F. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), chap. v; Ludwig Bieler, *Theios aner: das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen"* (Wien, 1935-36); Erich Benz, "Heilige Narrheit" in *Kyrios: Vierteljahrsschrift für Kirchengeschichte Osteuropas* (Berlin: Osteuropa Verlag, 1938), p. 3; Donald Riddle, *The Martyrs:*

against any attempt to objectify, to "materialize", and thus to "contaminate" the true religious temper. The attitude of rationalists, who tend to analyse the often diluted religious substance on which they live, of spiritualists and mystics, who shun all covenanting, and of many individual leaders and *homines religiosi* of different types has been hesitant if not hostile to all "group religion". Religious communities have, however, been formed even among mystics and hermits. Thus, it seems to be a fact that there is a deep-rooted tendency in man which urges him to join with others in the worship of the numen and thus to derive encouragement, strength, and comfort from sharing what

A Study in Social Control (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); Franz Dornseiff, "Der Märtyrer", *ARG*, XXII (1923), 133 ff.; Louis Ginzberg, *Students, Scholars, Saints* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1928); Joachim Wach, *Meister und Jünger* (Berlin: E. Pfeiffer, 1925). Cf. also: Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (Routledge, 1924), pp. 246 ff.; Paul Radin, *Primitive Religion: Its Nature and Origin* (Hamish Hamilton, 1937), chaps. vi-viii; Polynesia: Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti* (Honolulu: The Museum, 1928), pp. 154 ff.; Edward W. Gifford, *Tongan Society* (Honolulu: The Museum, 1929), pp. 316 ff.; Robert W. Williamson, *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* (Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 113 ff.; Madagascar: Ralph Linton, *The Tanala: A Hill Tribe of Madagascar* (*FMNH*, Vol. XXII (Chicago, 1933)), pp. 203 ff.; Africa: Wilfrid D. Hambley, *Source-Book for African Anthropology* (*FMNH*, Vol. XXVI (Chicago, 1937)), pp. 570 ff.; Melville J. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), Vol. II, chap. xxix; North Asia: Waldemar Bogoras, "The Chukchi of North-eastern Asia", *AA*, III (1901), 80 ff., 98 ff.; G. Nioradze, *Der Shamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern* (1925), was not available to the author. Cf. the classical monograph on Eskimo shamanism by Thalbitzer (reprinted in Kroeber and Waterman, *Sourcebook in Anthropology* (1931), pp. 430 ff.); W. Jokelson, *The Yakut* (*AMNH*, Vol. XXXIII (1933)), pp. 107 ff.; L. J. Sternberg, "Die Auserwählung im sibirischen Shamanismus", *ZMR*, L (1935), 261 ff.; American Indians: Clark Wissler, "General Discussion of Shamanistic and Dancing Societies" (*Anthro. Papers AMNH*, Vol. XI (1916)), pp. 858 ff.; Alfred L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), pp. 851 ff.; W. Z. Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* ("Northwestern University Social Studies", No. 2 (1938)), esp. on the Paviotso Shaman; John G. Bourke, "The Medicine Man of the Apache", *BAE*, 1887-88, pp. 451 ff.; E. M. Loeb, "Shaman and Seer", *AA*, XXXI (1929), 60 ff., who discriminates between the seer and the inspired shaman ("Siberian type") and claims that only in Indonesia do both types occur; Ludwig Weniger, "Die Scher von Olympia", *ARW*, XVIII (1915), 13 ff.; also: O. Cullmann, "La Mystique du Confucianisme: le saint", *RHP*, XI (1931), 448 ff.; Edwin D. Harvey, "Shamanism in China", in *Studies in the Science of Society, Presented to A. G. Keller* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 247 ff.; Edwyn Robert Bevan, *Sibyls and Seers: A Survey of some Ancient Theories of Revelation and Inspiration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929); American Negro sectarian leaders: Raymond J. Jones, *A Comparative Study of Religious Cult Behavior among Negroes* ("Howard University Studies in the Social Sciences", Vol. II, No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1939)).

Cf. also above, chap. v, n. 444. On Mohammedan holy men see above, chap. vi, n. 356; on Indian holy men cf. John Campbell Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India: A Study of Sadhuism* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1905); William Crooke, *The Popular Religion of Northern India* (new ed.; London: A. Constable & Co., 1896), chap. v; Margaret Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born*, pp. 421 ff. On audiences see Paul Pigors, "Types of Followers", *Journal of Social Psychology*, V (1934), 378 ff.; Harry Levi Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Audience* ("American Psychology Series" (New York: American Book Co., 1935)), esp. chaps. ii, v-viii; also bibliography to chap. v, sec. 10, and chap. vi, sec. 8.

he has with others. Faith in the value of such communion all through the history of mankind has been so profound that some of the most efficacious religious and sociological concepts and institutions have been created by it. By means of such notions not only did the *first integration of worshippers* take place, prompted by the new religious experience, but they also serve the group continually whenever reintegration appears necessary. The *ecclesia*, the *samgha*, and the *ummah* are three examples of such basic conceptions taken from the Christian, Buddhist, and Mohammedan faiths. Each has proved itself profoundly inspiring, sustaining, and productive of thought and action all through the ages. Even those who have hesitated or declined to conform to any of the historical formations to which the central concept has given rise have often directly or involuntarily and unconsciously borne witness to its power. As an ideal, it has inspired them to dream and conceive of new possibilities for its realization, and those solitary figures who find it impossible to join with others in communion with the holy—among them some of the great figures in the religious development of mankind—may be regarded as “soloists” in the sublime orchestra of the communion of worship.

If there is communion rooted in religious experience, what are the natural and adequate *forms* by which it can be organized? We have previously reviewed some of the outstanding types of organization of identical and specifically religious groups, examining their structure and characteristic spirit of solidarity. We have pointed out the fact that in all of them, even in those stimulated by equalitarian ideals, religious charisma and hence religious authority are recognized. This authority, however, can be of very different types. It is acknowledged even among primitive people that the degree with which men and women are endowed with the *sensus numinis* varies. This qualification does not necessarily imply intrinsic superiority or inferiority, but merely means that some possess qualities, gifts, or talents which others lack. A differentiation of function results according to which the candidate who shows a natural tendency towards and a capacity for religious activity may enter upon a training to develop these potentialities and either partly (i.e., for a time) or exclusively devote himself to them. There are transitions between the general type of initiation and education given to age groups of youths or members of specifically religious organizations and between the specific preparation and rites by which groups and

individuals are introduced to duties for which they are more or less markedly set apart. Certain clans, like the Hebrew Levites, Median Magi, Japanese, Greek, Roman, and Indian cultic clans, associations like the mystery societies, and individual or organized charismatics and cult officials in these and other societies illustrate the point. Such *specialists*, both individual and group, are known in a great number of primitive tribes. The esteem in which primitive society holds those who are professionally intermediate between men and the spirits and who perform the necessary ceremonies to propitiate them varies. With some tribes and groups they enjoy great prestige; in others less respect is accorded these individuals. We do not find specialization everywhere and certainly not monopoly. Often authority in matters of religious experience does not depend upon special preparation, training, and professional qualifications, but in part if not wholly upon individual *charisma* (gift of grace). The person who is endowed with such charisma temporarily or permanently is regarded as the mouthpiece through which, dependent upon the nature of the spirit, either a god or a demon may speak. The great problem of Old Testament prophecy is the distinction between "true" and "false" prophets. Both operate similarly and both behave differently from the normal run of people and are hence regarded sometimes with an awe which is reverence for the god who speaks through its mouthpiece and sometimes with a mixture of pity and contempt for one possessed by an evil spirit. With the disappearance of charismatic authority in the organization of ecclesiastical bodies, freedom from bodily or mental defects may become a criterion for the admission to cultic office. Charismatic prophecy and personal "abnormality" often coincide. Dostoyevsky very beautifully illustrates the Eastern Christian esteem for the "fools of God".

Religious authority, however, is not always due to an extraordinary psycho-physiological constitution. Great spiritual, intellectual, and moral gifts may help to gain respect and reverence for a "man of God" from his fellow-men. Spirituality, particularly creative spirituality, is a rare quality, and the transitions from one to another type of religious prestige may be smooth. A predisposition to respond readily to stimuli and a susceptibility to supernatural influences, however, are not necessarily abnormally developed. The *homo religiosus* is easily credited with having contacts with another world.

Religious leaders may be of any status or profession, though

some professions are considered particularly adapted to the developing of religious proclivities. Are there any criteria by which it can be determined which types of personalities command religious authority more readily than others? The history of religion indicates that such authority may be derived primarily or exclusively from a particular physiological endowment. An individual may be "different" from others only in nervous temperament, but he may be credited with a peculiar nature and endowment and regarded with awe because he looks or acts differently. In some cases he may not enjoy esteem, but be treated with contempt or even persecuted. Among many peoples physical deformities are considered ominous or "portentous", frequently requiring extirpation and atonement, as among the Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans. It is well known that a certain physiological habitus, a high degree of nervous excitability, is required of all prospective "shamans" by the north-eastern Asiatic nomads, and the same holds true of many African, American Indian, and Indonesian groups. Persons with such dispositions are given special treatment. Tradition and custom codify methods of cultivating this gift and of making it yield its peculiar fruits in abnormal states of consciousness, ecstasy, and rapture. Since unusual inner experiences are actually the result of this extraordinary state of mind, individuals who are capable of them are greatly revered. At higher cultural levels, however, there is more careful discrimination. Not every unusual or abnormal state of body or mind is regarded as "holy". By these contacts with the unseen the individual may become the "organ" or "mouthpiece" of the divine. He can claim to be regarded as a messenger or mediator between the visible and the invisible world, and he can easily become a final authority wielding extraordinary influence. Frequently the legitimacy of his claim must be vindicated and corroborated by miraculous acts and deeds. This type of spirituality eventually develops characteristic *sociological corollaries*; a more or less transitory group of followers may gather, attracted and integrated by the charisma of the leader. Besides spiritual endowment, other qualities will also bolster up his prestige: experience, shrewdness, resourcefulness, knowledge, and wisdom. The religious leader, particularly in less complex societies, is thought to have such special qualities, and whoever exhibits them is sure to gain extraordinary prestige. An unusual memory, the result of a natural gift plus active training, qualifies a person among primitive and other peoples to play a significant part in

religious activities. The guardian of the sacred tradition commands the greatest respect of his people. Skill and abilities of any kind will convince the group of the superiority of the *homo religiosus*. "It is frequently reported that the priests distinguish themselves from the rest of the people by a more or less considerable knowledge of certain natural phenomena, by means of which they secure the popular confidence in their powers. They have studied the use of medicines, the properties of herbs and other plants, the changes of weather, and the habits of animals, and this knowledge assists them materially in the maintenance of their authority (Negroes, Hottentots, Dayaks, Tahitians, Araucanians, Eskimos)."² With the classification of special skills and achievements from which authority may be derived, a vast field opens up. Ascetic practices deserve special attention. Max Weber frequently uses the term "virtuosos" in this connection. India is the classic though not the only country where such activities have always enjoyed and still enjoy the highest esteem. The same is found in the North American Great Plains, in Mexico, in north-eastern Asia, and in Africa. Another source of religious authority is those achievements which could be classified under "magic". It has rightly been observed that it is often difficult to differentiate between religion and magic. The acts in themselves may not be different; but the attitude and purpose behind them are. Neither the historian nor the sociologist as such is able to decide in an individual case whether a certain person acts as a "magician" or as a "man of God". This implies a religious (theological) judgment, and the psychological reaction of awe on the part of the onlookers does not help in the distinction.

What the holy man is, does, and knows explain the honour and veneration in which he is held. In extreme cases he himself is regarded as divine and is worshipped, but we shall concern ourselves here only with types of religious authority distinct from the numen itself, the subjects, not the objects of religion. Frequently they and everything that belongs to them and concerns them are set apart (taboo): food, clothing, instruments, and personal utensils. Thus they participate in the dual nature of the "sacred", causing attraction and alienation. In some highly ritualistic cults a most elaborate casuistry on this subject has been developed, as in Judaism, Parsiism, Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism, and Greek, Roman, and Anglo-Catholicism. Special

² *ERE*, X, 252.

functions, and only these, must be fulfilled exclusively by those who by their nature or qualification are considered especially or exclusively fitted for them. They may mediate and intercede with the deity, pronounce and interpret his will, administer justice, rule or advise rulers, teach and educate, and perform the rites of worship. They may do this with or without "office", temporarily or perpetually, supervised or unsupervised. The history of religions provides us with many illustrations. Later on we will outline a typology of religious authority. Here it should be noted, however, that seers, prophets, priests, reformers, and saints are found in primitive as well as in more highly developed civilizations. Sometimes such a figure is easy to classify; sometimes he defies all classification. There is often something mysterious about the "holy man", and practices such as paint, dress, behaviour, and gestures may be employed by primitive sorcerers and medicine men to increase the terrifying and awe-inspiring effect of their appearance. The genuinely mysterious is beautifully illustrated in the Old Testament report of Elijah and other early "prophets", who wielded an incomparable authority over their fellow men.

2. CHARISMA AND LEADERSHIP

Max Weber has introduced the happy term "charisma" into the language of the sociologist as a designation for the specific power postulating and exercising authority over others. There are different types of charisma and charismatics, but the religious type is fundamental. The term is derived from the Greek of the New Testament (*charisma*, "gift of grace"), but the phenomenon is known all over the world. Primitive people speak of *mana*, and under this term charisma is included. The Persian *hvarnah*, the "glory" vested in the religious and political leader, is another instance. Germanic tribes credited certain clans and families with such a collective qualification. The choice of the early medieval emperor, neither free election nor purely hereditary, but of religious significance, is based on such a concept. In taking over the term from theological and juridical language, Weber has, moreover, differentiated between personal charisma, which is due to *personal* qualifications, and the charisma of *office*. This is a significant distinction. The personal charisma is probably the original one, but official charisma has gained tremendous importance in the history of religious groups. No

doubt there is something elementary and irresistible in personal charisma, in contrast to which official charisma appears less efficacious. The latter may be more clearly defined than the vague, often indescribable, personal type, but it is narrower, shallower, and more limited. There is an additional important difference. Charisma of personal character appeals more to the emotions; official charisma is more "rational". Whereas the former claims complete loyalty, even personal surrender, the latter usually demands a circumscribed or "tempered" obedience. This difference, however, is of a practical more than theoretical nature. A comparison between the allegiance shown to the prophet and the master and that shown towards the priest and the teacher will illustrate the point. In other words, it is possible to distinguish qualitatively and quantitatively two types of loyalty even in a purely sociological analysis. This analysis, however, should be supplemented by an examination of the phenomenon from another viewpoint. The subjective claim on which authority is based is expressed in the self-consciousness and self-designation of the "holy man". This claim is usually established theologically, and it is not the concern of the sociologist to determine its actual "truth"; it is its sociological implications in which he is interested. The authority of a religious leader is not necessarily equal to his claim, for he may enjoy more or less than it justifies. A primitive sorcerer may claim to be the incarnation of a spirit and not be acknowledged as such. Mohammed was at first repudiated by the people of Mecca when he demanded that they respect him as the messenger of God. On the other hand, the New Testament tells of Jesus' refusal to admit his messiahship during his Galilean ministry ("*Messias-geheimnis*"), although the crowds bore witness to his authority by asserting it. The prestige of a religious leader may even bring about a change in his self-interpretation and in his claim. We may state it paradoxically by saying that, from a sociological point of view, the effect produces the cause. The history of a number of *homines religiosi* and of sectarianism all over the world illustrates this point. It is the problem of Björnson's drama, *Beyond Human Power*, in which the hero is forced into the career of a miracle man by his admirers because of his healing power.

The reasons for the development of official charisma have already been discussed in part. From a negative point of view, the end of the "pneumatic" era, the receding of the spirit, prepares the way. Division and differentiation of functions work in

the same direction. As a result, types of *official* religious authority develop. In highly organized ecclesiastical bodies we find an elaborate hierarchy with a complicated order of duties, functions, and honours and corresponding differentiations of rank, privileges, and distinctions. The Roman Catholic church and the Eastern Orthodox and oriental churches; to a lesser degree, Episcopal Methodism and sects like the Irvingites and the Latter-Day Saints, Judaism, Mahayana Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Hinduism; the ancient Roman, Etruscan, and Celtic, and the Maya, Mexican, and Peruvian religions, as well as Babylonia, Egypt, China, and Japan (Shinto), offer ample illustrations.³ Where more equalitarian ideals prevail, some official charisma is recognized (elders, teachers, pastors, ministers, leaders, shepherds, helmsmen), which may represent the one and only approved or a simply graded order of official religious functions. A criterion for distinguishing between three basically different types of official charisma is indicated in the three terms "priest", "minister", and "speaker". Each term points to a characteristically different concept of the nature and function of the official. The priest is consecrated, the minister is ordained, and the speaker is called or self-designated. In the latter case there is a transition from official to charismatic authority. A third possibility, the most extreme form of equalitarian organization, is rarely realized and then usually only for a short while; here no official charisma whatever is acknowledged, and the different functions in the religious community and its cult are attended to alternately and without personal prestige or authority.

Those enjoying religious authority are believed to live in a singularly close and intimate communion with the deity; therefore, all that pertains to this experience is primary, and all that which is related to it only indirectly is expected to take second place in the life of the *homo religiosus*. Great emphasis is placed on the preparation for and conservation of the right mood and disposition for this communion with the numen and on every means of fostering it: spiritual exercises, self-examination, worship, prayer, and meditation. Enthusiasm is the exceptional rapture preparing for and resulting in the closest union with the deity, and cult is the guarantee of permanent intercourse. Since it is considered possible and desirable to have others share in this decisive experience, everything that leads to this end becomes essential—as preaching, teaching, missions, propaganda, and

³ See below, Appendix.

education. The central message must be presented, explained, and discussed; the practical and intellectual implications have to be outlined, interpreted, and defended. The "world" has to be met and confronted with the spirit born of the new experience.

The blessings of participation in the communion with the divine have, moreover, to be communicated and distributed. Caring for the sick, the poor, and the destitute is another activity of the *homo religiosus*. Owing to his communion with the deity, the holy man may be credited with successful intercession on behalf of his fellow men. He who voices the will of the gods is also trusted to convey the feelings and thoughts of their servants to the gods. He is expected to bring before the deity collective and individual needs, wants, and afflictions. Avoidance of pestilence and war, annihilation of the enemy, fertility of soil, cattle, and family, and prosperity are most ardently desired. The more irrational the demand, the more risk is involved and the higher is the prestige of the successful mediator. At less developed cultural levels we generally find that "success" is made a criterion of the genuineness of spiritual power. As the ruler is expected to be victorious and is eliminated when he ceases to be (Frazer has collected interesting material on this point), so the magician and sorcerer of primitive society will only be feared and honoured so long as the spirits obey him. When Saul failed to be successful, it was because "the spirit of the Lord had departed from him". His individual charisma was, as it were, exhausted. Official charisma may bridge over "luckless" times and events, but that is not the universal rule. Like so many African, Oceanian, and American chieftains, the Chinese emperors who enjoyed "semi-religious" authority were held personally responsible and were punished for lack of success in their intercession with the gods.

The life and status in society of the individual commanding religious authority may be very different from that of ordinary people. To be able to commune with the gods is a reason for being held in awe, reverence, and honour and for being set apart and bound by special customs and regulations. These prerogatives may include exemption from social duties binding on others. They may also involve, however, more difficult obligations. The question of "remuneration" arises with the development of official charismatic authority. As long as the activity of the holy man is entirely "free", consisting only of the outpouring of his charismatic gift of preaching, healing, and teaching, it might be "rewarded" by "gifts" of different kinds—food, clothing, shelter, immovable

property, and more or less valuable objects. These gifts frequently are refused or passed on to others. It is well known that, according to Buddhist and Indian thought, generally the giver, not the receiver, of the gift is honoured. An institutional official authority is, as a rule, rewarded by a regular income, revenues, taxes and tithes, but also by irregular gifts, such as offerings and presents from the organization he serves.

The historian of religion, well acquainted with the enormous influence which is wielded by religious authority not only in religious but also in political, cultural, and economic life as well, will welcome any attempt to examine systematically and to classify types of religious charisma, for little has been done along these lines. Max Weber again was one of the pioneers in outlining certain forms of what he called "hierocracy". As comparative studies have supplied us meanwhile with still more material, we can now attempt afresh to classify the variety of types of religious authority according to the principle of personal and official charisma. This viewpoint is helpful in the differentiation of religious prestige, even if in most cases we actually find a combination of both elements.

Inasmuch as we are concerned here with the sociological effect of religious authority, we will not investigate further the theological implications of such conceptions as that of the founder of a religion, the prophet, the reformer, and the seer. This study has to be limited necessarily to the sociological aspect.

3. THE FOUNDER OF RELIGION

If we begin with the figures of the great founders of religion, the foremost type of religious authority, the difficulties involved in making generalizations about the sociological effect of their activities becomes apparent. In the last analysis, we cannot compare Jesus Christ, the Buddha, the Jina, Mohammed, Zoroaster, Mani, Confucius, and Laotse. Each one of these sacred names stands for a unique experience and has become an un-interchangeable symbol of human faith and hope. Over and against all superficial equation and comparison, this fundamental fact must be stressed. On the other hand, we have seen that there are striking parallels and similarities in the biographies of the great founders of religion.⁴ These resemblances cannot be accounted

⁴ See above, chap. v.

for merely by pointing out parallel developments in the literary "style" of the respective traditions ("motives") and in the manner of exposition of the contents of their teachings. Theological elaboration may follow similar patterns even when the basic experiences are different. Actually there are surprising parallels in the division and periods of life and activity and in the main events and crucial stages of the careers of these great personalities. There are similarities in the relationship between these leaders and their environment and in the recurrence of types of characters among their followers. The integrating power of the personality and of the message of the founders of religions is a fascinating topic for comparative sociological study.

What, then, are the distinctive features of the "founders"? It is significant that this term does not denote any intrinsic quality or activity of the personality, but refers to the historical and sociological effect of his charisma. As is well known, none of the great founders intended to "found a religion". They were, each one in his own way, deeply concerned with following out an experience which became decisive in their lives and which determined their own attitudes towards God, towards the world, and towards men. From the psychological and historical standpoint, the Jesus who wandered about in Galilee was a revolutionary teacher, a reformer, and a prophet. Many of his contemporaries considered him a magician. Seen from the sociological point of view, he was the head of a school or the leader of a religious group, as many before and after him; but this description does not do justice to his significance—not even the sociological—if it leaves out the events after his death which brought a considerable part of the human race into communion with him. Thus, Jesus of Nazareth, or in theological terms, the Christ, is even sociologically defined as something more than a teacher, a prophet, or a reformer, for he founded Christianity. From a theological point of view the number of his followers is immaterial, but it is sociologically significant that he, the Buddha, Mohammed, and Zoroaster became the founders of large religious bodies by the influence which their personalities and activities had on their followers. The historian is interested in the transformation which the leadership of great religious personalities produced in the world; the sociologist concentrates his attention on the direct and indirect sociological effect of his appearance on the organization and stratification of society.

It is, however, not only the quantitative criterion which we

ought to apply when characterizing the great founders of religions in contrast to other leading religious personalities (reformers, prophets, teachers, etc.). Another factor enters in which has, besides its theological, sociological significance. Virtually all the founders became objects of religious veneration themselves. We find a cult of the founder in Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, and Taoism, and the same is true of the figures of founders of minor religions like Sikhism, Ahmadiyya, Babism, Vedantism, etc., but not of reformers like Moses, Luther, and Tsong-khapa; of prophets such as Amos, Isaiah, and Ezekiel; of heads of schools such as Valentinus, Basilides, Marcion, Shankara, Ramanuja, Nagarjuna, and Shinran, much as they were revered; or of leaders like Brigham Young and Mary Baker Eddy. In spite of the high veneration in which they were held, none of the men of God in Israel became the object of a cult, with the possible exception of the Chassidic Zaddikim. In the Greco-Roman world a different situation prevailed. Hero worship, unknown in Israel, was characteristic of the Hellenic world and developed into the veneration of the *theios*, prophet and philosopher, king and seer, types which largely influenced Christian hagiography. The early history of founded religions reveals an interesting variety of opinions concerning the nature and significance of the personality of the founder. Fundamental differences become manifest in the christological controversies of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, the prophetological discussions in Islam, and the buddhological debates between Hinayanists and Mahayanists. These discussions had their sociological consequences. Great teachers and theologians gathered followers around them who were united by adherence to the person and message of the founder and to the interpretation which is given it by these teachers.⁵ The "message" of the founder is essential in that it establishes a religious ideal and a scale of values derived from his basic experience. It creates, apart from the effect of his personal charisma, an objective centre of crystallization for a variety of sociological developments.

We have already hinted at the numerous individual differences among the figures of the founders in personal character and in sociological type. Mohammed and Zoroaster are often spoken of as "prophets"; Mani, Confucius, and Laotse are called "teachers", "philosophers", "wise men", and "reformers".

⁵ See above, chap. v.

There can hardly be any doubt that Mohammed resembles the Old Testament prophets more than any other individual founder, and the founders of Islam and Zoroastrianism have features in common which are partly shared by the father of Manichaeism. The two great East Asiatic teachers can be contrasted with all the others, and there are similarities between Mani, Zoroaster, and Confucius as well as among the Buddha, the Jina, and Laotse. It is difficult to eliminate completely psychological, racial, historical, and cultural considerations from a sociological analysis of the originators of founded religions, although these factors are more important in the classification of other types of religious authority.

In analysing the various activities of the founders, we find in nearly every case preaching and teaching. To convey to others the message of salvation and perfection and to lead them to the acceptance of the truth revealed to them in their basic experience are primary concerns of the founder. This activity may be implemented by miraculous acts, such as healing, feeding, transforming matter, etc. It is on this that tradition and hagiographical development rely and on this basis that they expand. These acts are meant to illustrate the specific personal charisma which designates the man of God in an unmistakable and uninterchangeable way.

The awareness of his mission comes to the chosen one upon the occasion of his "call". Characteristic of such a mission is the close association of the message with the personality of its promulgator and the permanent endowment with power. The idea of a mission implies consciousness of its mandatory character. Even the Buddha and the Jina do not achieve their highest enlightenment entirely by themselves. Jesus was conscious of being sent by the Father, Mohammed was the messenger of Allah, Zoroaster of Ahura-Mazda, and the Tao spoke through Laotse. Psychologically seen, these personalities differed in temperament and character, yet they have in common the quality of "greatness". Furthermore, there is balance and an absence of extremity and excess in the attitude of these founders. Even Mohammed, who more than all others tends to emotional radicalism, is no exception. His character and attitude became in the eyes of his followers the epitome of perfection. The founder of Islam may be singled out for another reason. Whereas the life of all other great founders was concentrated on the promulgation of their religious message, Mohammed, more than Mani and Zoroaster, set himself the task of establishing a concrete political

and social order in the territory and among the people he controlled. In this he resembles some great religious leaders of another type: Calvin, Cromwell, and Brigham Young.

4. THE REFORMER

In times of threatening decay or disintegration leaders arise in religious groups who are difficult to classify in the traditional historical schemes. They are not on one level with the founders; their creative religious power does not match that of the originator of a great faith. They somewhat resemble the founders in the power and possibly even in the magnetism of their personality, in their energy and endurance; but the sociological effect of their activity cannot be compared to that resulting in the emergence of the great faiths. Moreover, their self-interpretation and the role with which these reformers are credited by their followers differ from those of the founder. In some of these leaders the "prophetic" element is strong, and therefore not a few of them have been called "prophets", though with doubtful propriety. Reformers differ from prophets psychologically, sociologically, and theologically.

The specific charisma of the reformer varies. With some it will be the gift of vision or ecstasy, with others pre-excellent virtues of head or heart, an eminent talent for organization or ascetic vigour—all of which are to serve a characteristic basic religious experience. We note a marked difference in the depth and comprehensiveness of this experience, in missionary effort and ability, and in the appeal of different reformers. They vary in creative power and breadth of vision, in drive and persuasiveness. Some are great leaders in worship and devotion; others excel as intellectual or moral guides; others, again, magnetically draw their fellow-man in the company they organize. To illustrate these three types of reformers, we may think of Moses, Ezra, and Sabbatai Zevi, the false messiah of the seventeenth century, in Judaism; of Francis, Dominic, and Ignatius Loyola in Western Christianity; of Basil, John of Damascus, and Seraphim of Sarov, the modern Russian saint, in Eastern Catholicism; of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin or of Fox, Penn, and Wesley in Protestantism. Some of these influential figures have lived retired and secluded lives, radiating as it were a power which generates changes and transformations in the religious community of their time. Others were the quiet centre of an intimately related

group of followers and may be hardly known beyond it. Again, others sought and found contact with larger groups and even masses upon which their immediate influence can be noted. It would not be difficult to enumerate examples. Great mystics like Eckhart, Ruysbroeck, Jacob Böhme, great scholars like Colet, Erasmus, Thomas Cartwright, and Pusey, and some of the reformers referred to in the fifth chapter of this volume may be classified in the first group; the second would include religious leaders like Gerhard Groote, Lodensteyn, and Schwenckfeld; the third type is represented by John Hus, John Wycliffe, and John Wesley. Different as their personalities may be, they have in common profound religious experiences of some originality and the gift of communicating them directly or indirectly to others, thus becoming sociologically important centres of religious life and activity. We can, furthermore, among the reformers distinguish between the inaugurator and the organizer, as in the case of George Fox and William Penn, of P. J. Spener and von Zinzendorf, of John Wesley and Francis Asbury, of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. There are the originators such as Luther and the systematizers such as Melancthon, or as Lelio and Fausto Sozzini, or Kabir and Nanak in India. And we may group together secondary reformers like Knox in Scotland, Olaus Petri in Sweden, and Agricola in Finland. In some reformers the prophetic element prevails: Montanus in the early, Joachim of Flora in the medieval, and Joseph Smith in the modern phase of Christianity illustrate this point. There are significant differences in the methods and the means selected by the reformers for the realization of their ideals. One way is indicated by the work of theological critics—different as their attitude may be—like Castellio and Erasmus, Newman and Kierkegaard. Whereas their immediate sociological effect may be small, the indirect effect has been enormous. Inversely, some revolutionary reformers, like Melchior Hofmann, Thomas Münzer, or Gerrard Winstanley, have had a wide but short-lived appeal. There will be great differences in character between reformers of equal sociological importance. We can observe this in contrasting personalities like Menno Simons, Robert Browne, and David Joris, all living at the time of the great Reformation, or of Philip Neri, Ignatius Loyola, and Pierre de Bérulle in a later age. Here the psychologist, by applying to character and temperament the categories which he has developed, will prove helpful to the sociologist.

As we have seen, some of the reformers have been geniuses of devotion; some, great scholars or profound thinkers; some, powerful directors of religious fervour and emotion; some, great teachers and preachers. All these elements we find isolated or in some combination with other types of outstanding religious personalities. Quantitatively, the reformer is characterized by the extent and degree of his activity; qualitatively, by his creative and constructive power, which, however, will always be inferior to that of the founder. Inside and outside of Christianity the history of religion records the work of a great number of outstanding theologians, teachers, interpreters, and leaders in religious life. Less original than the founder, yet more original than the just-mentioned bearers of authority, the reformers in all religions represent an epoch in the life and action of their group and thus a type of religious charisma of great sociological consequence. The historian of church and religion will be more interested in the historical context in which the lifework of these personalities has to be seen and in the content of their message; the sociologist may aid him by examining and comparing sociological types of reforming activity and resulting group life.

5. THE PROPHET

The question arises: Should not the term "prophet" be reserved for a geographically, ethnically, and historically limited group of personalities—in other words, to the best known of all, the "written" prophets of the Old Testament? Such a definition would have the advantage of a rather clear-cut circumscription, but studies of the prophets of the Old Testament in recent years have shown that the "written prophecy", beginning in Israel in the eighth century B.C., was by no means something entirely new. The content is new, as has been said rightly, but not the form. The latter had a long history in the religion of the Old Testament itself. Balaam, Micah ben Imlah, Nathan, Elijah, Elisha, and others are identified as "predecessors of the later prophets" whose writings happened to come down to us. Moreover, psychological studies have indicated a resemblance, if not an affinity, between Hebrew prophecy and that of other Semitic civilizations, principally the Arabic, but also the Phoenician and Canaanite. Certain priestly groups in Egypt are often styled "prophetic". The term "prophet" is not Semitic but Greek, and an examination of the usage of this designation in the Hellenic

world, carefully executed by Erich Fascher, has proved to be of great value for the understanding of similarities as well as differences in the "prophecy" of Israel and of Greece. Meanwhile, ethnologists had become accustomed to speak of "primitive prophets", with reference to American Indians and, to a lesser degree, to Africa. The study of north-eastern and south-eastern Asiatic and Iranian shamanism was added recently in the hope that it might throw additional light on the subject of "prophecy." The increase of material, however, is likely to increase also the difficulty of interpretation.

We will follow Max Weber's example again. He considered "prophecy" a special category in his systematic outline of types of religious authorities. As we have indicated above, there is a transition from prophecy to other types of religious authority. That explains to some extent the lack of agreement in terminology. Some founders, such as Mohammed, Zoroaster, and even Mani have been designated "prophets". Some also would call reformers, teachers, and sectarian leaders like Moses, Pythagoras, and Simon Magus prophets. What, then, is the characteristic of a prophet? The prophetic charisma seems to be the chief religious gift. It implies immediate communion with the deity, the intensity of which is more characteristic than its continuance. The mandate which the prophet receives is essential; usually there is a distinct "call". The mandate may be limited, in which case the authority which goes with it is also limited; it may be repeated, possibly with qualifications; and it may be permanent. The consciousness of being the organ, instrument, or mouthpiece of the divine will is characteristic of the self-interpretation of the prophet. The prophetic authority is distinctly secondary, a derived authority, more distinctly so than the authority of the founder. Furthermore, a certain natural disposition, which many consider to be the basic psychological characteristic of prophecy, belongs to the prophet, who is distinguished by an unusual sensitiveness and an intense emotional life. Visions, dreams, trances, or ecstasies are not infrequently encountered, and by these the prophet is prepared to receive and interpret manifestations of the divine. He shares this privilege with other types of religious leaders like the seer, etc. His interpretation, however, is "authorized", a fact which distinguishes him and the seer from the magician and the augur. It is characteristic of prophetic revelations that they are usually not induced by methodical or casual manipulation but arise spontaneously and

are received passively. This differentiates prophecy and divination. There is something elemental about the prophet, which can be discerned in his uncompromising attitude and conduct and in the archaism of his manner and language. Frequently the prophet appears as a renewer of lost contacts with the hidden powers of life, and here he resembles the "medicine man" and the physician. He is credited with the power of transcending the limitations of time and space. The prophet illuminates and interprets the past, but he also anticipates the future. The *kairos* (moment) is interpreted by the prophet in this dual light.

It is interesting to note that prophets do not usually come from the aristocracy, the learned, or the refined; they frequently emerge from the simpler folk, and remain true to their origin even in a changed environment. Frugality and simplicity mark the life of the prophet, and these features link him with the ascetic and the "saint" (cf. the Russian *starets*). Since his inspiration means the revelation of hidden truths, the prophet may also be regarded as one who "knows". As one who possesses knowledge and information as to the most essential that man wants to know—the nature, will, and manifestations of God—the prophet has features in common with the teacher, philosopher, and theologian.

The political, national, and social activities of prophets have always attracted the attention of the students of prophecy. In these fields they played so outstanding a part in old Hebrew history (Balaam, Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, Elisha, and most of the great prophets) that some scholars are inclined to regard this side of prophetic activity as the central one. That is not correct, because his moral, social, and political ideas, the prophet's function as the "conscience" of the group, tribe, nation, or state, are caused, conditioned, and determined by his basic religious experience. Owing to his contact with the deepest sources of life, the prophet reacts vigorously against all disturbance or perversion of the civic or moral order, which is meant to reflect the divine will. He feels danger and seizes crucial moments to interpret present situations in the light of the past and the future. Hence we have the modern use of the term "prophet" to designate one who anticipates what is to come and advises his people or their representatives according to his intuition. This often results in concrete advice on ways and means to establish or re-establish the divinely ordained state of things and in warning the people and individuals about punishments and rewards. The blunt expression of moral judgment which we are accustomed to

associate with prophetic activity, particularly with the messages of Nathan, Amos, Micah, and Jeremiah, is not inspired by personal resentment, but is a result of the strong emotion and the profound intuition evoked by basic religious experiences. Such pronouncements and judgments confirm the prophet's charisma. The moral and social *restitutio in integrum* here and now, in this world, will have only a preliminary and preparatory value in the eyes of the prophet. Helped by his deeper perception and surer anticipation of the future, the prophet views the things of the world in the light of its final destiny. Hence eschatology usually plays an important part in all genuine prophecy.

In harmony with the peculiar psychological organization of the prophet, the expression of his experience is characterized by its vigour and directness. The prophet speaks by means of words, signs, gestures, and diverse acts of a common or unusual nature. We find abrupt and sententious utterances often cryptic in nature, but there are also elaborate and systematic sermons and addresses. Images and metaphors abound. The prophet may or may not utilize the traditional theoretical and practical language of his co-religionists. Frequently he will alter and transform customary ideas and conceptions.

Frequently his attitude in matters of worship will be critical, nonconformist, "protestant". This protest may be directed against the nature and character of a specific illegitimate or falsified cultic practice or may be of a more general character. Accordingly, the prophetic charisma frequently leads to clashes with the powers that be in existing religious institutions. But the authority of a prophet may also help to reintegrate individuals or groups into the religious community and restore the lost balance in its social and political life between ruler and subject and subject and subject. It may act as a new centre of sociological crystallization within the religious group or it may bring about eventual secession, thus causing the formation of a new and independent cultic unit. Thus the transition from the prophet to the founder, the reformer, and the sectarian leader is indicated. History shows that the revolutionary character of prophecy prevails over conservative features, which, however, are not entirely absent from the prophetic character and activity.

One type of prophecy—we may think of Ezekiel, al-Ghazzali, or Chaitanya—is more closely connected with the cultus than others and is associated with rite: sacrifice, liturgy, and the dance, often in connection with certain cultic centres. This fact

is not difficult to explain. Religious rites represent objectified and stereotyped expressions of spontaneous religious experience, which may produce in turn new creative experiences in a mind which is susceptible to it. We know of semi-prophetic and mystical experiences connected with the cult in Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Hinduism.

Although the prophetic revelation is obtained in individual experiences which tend to isolate their recipient, it frequently engenders a strong urge to extend the message of the deity to all men (the prophetic mandate). This has important sociological consequences. Groups of listeners, followers, and disciples gather. Their attitude may be passive or active. In the latter case prophecy will operate collectively through disciples and disciple groups. Such group prophecy is found in the "bands", guilds, and "schools" of early Hebrew and Mohammedan ecstasies and in the associations of Iranian, north-eastern Asiatic pagan, and Buddhistic shamans. The nucleus of what later develops into an institutional and professional association, like some priestly and shamanistic American Indian societies, probably has often been originally an organization of disciples of a prophetic leader. Be this as it may, we can trace the transition from purely personal charismatic prophecy to an institution with professional training, habits, and rewards. History shows that the priest in addition to being the successor is frequently also the antagonist of the prophet. Since all organizations pass through an initial stage of spirituality, the institution of the priesthood necessarily presupposes the existence of personal charismatic leaders. On the other hand, the emergence of new prophetic charisma will evoke the opposition of those who either reject the prophetic principle or oppose the claims of some individual prophet. The history of Judaism and Christianity in all their phases is most revealing in this respect. Elijah and the priests of Baal; Amos and the court priests; the recession of the charismatic gifts in the early Christian church; the renewal of "prophecy" in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries and its conflicts with the Church of Rome; independent and "sectarian" beginnings and movements in Protestantism; Startsestvo in all its forms in Russian Orthodox Christianity—all are examples of this type of antagonism.

One essential element of prophetic activity is the extraordinary spiritual power with which the prophets are credited and which is symbolized in records of their miracles. These are supposedly not performed by the prophet's own energy but by the divine

power with which his intimate communion with the deity or the spirits endows him. Where this side of prophetic activity is unduly stressed, the authority of the prophet may easily degenerate into that of a thaumaturge and magician.

The essential difference between religion and magic is the fact that the former recognizes the subjection of man to the supernatural which he worships, while the magician tries to impose his will upon the gods by means of conjuration. This difference is reflected in the kind of authority which both types exercise. The prestige of some of the Hellenistic and Hebrew prophets with the crowds was probably principally due to their supposed possession of magical power, a trait attributed even to the great founders and their chief disciples. Thus Jesus himself, portrayed by the evangelists as performing miraculous deeds, warns his followers against the abuse of the supernatural. Mohammedan theology developed an elaborate theory of prophetic miracles. Zoroaster is credited with having surpassed his enemies, the magicians, in their own field. Taoism presents two traditions: an esoteric which aimed at true union with the ultimate reality and an exoteric which developed a cult of magic superstition, thus stamping the founder and some of his great disciples as arch-sorcerers. In Mahayana Buddhism a cult of the Buddhas as miracle-workers and magicians emerged, fostered by foreign influences (Hindu Shivaism, Chinese Taoism, Tibetan Bon religion, Japanese Shinto). Thus the "tantric" interpretation of the Blessed One, of his significance, and of the activity of his great disciples (Mahakashyapa, Moggallana, Nagarjuna) developed. The figures of the literary Hebrew prophets, on the other hand, have remained freer from such overgrowth of the miraculous by legends and the cult of miracles. Their authority is purely a prophetic one. Prophecy more than any other type of religious authority has been confused, by contemporary and later generations, with other forms of religious leadership. Where the historian of religion follows developments, the sociologist is bound to discriminate between types which occur and reoccur in various places and at various times.

6. THE SEER

In many respects the seer can be regarded as a precursor of the prophet. His authority is less pronounced, although the prestige which seers have enjoyed in many societies has been considerable.

That can be explained by the fact that, whereas the prophet is an extremely active figure, the seer is usually an individual of a more passive type. His charisma, like that of the prophet, is derived from a genuine but less creative religious experience. The seer is granted communion with the deity and is credited with knowing intimately the spirits or gods and with being acquainted with their will and intention. He is able to interpret their tangible and intangible manifestations. In contradistinction to the augur, the seer accomplishes this by intuition rather than by methodical and systematic interpretation of certain specified phenomena. The seer draws more from his inner experience than the augur, who observes exterior objects. His attitude is different from that of the prophet in that, according to the passive character of his state, he is less concerned with developing norms of judgment and rules of action than the prophet. Furthermore, the seer deals usually with individual situations and rarely commits himself to general statements and judgments, as does the prophet. The charisma of the seer is by definition personal, and an official seer would be a contradiction in terms. Since there is such a thing as tradition and a rudimentary technique for seers, the seer may begin as a disciple before becoming a master and himself have disciples whom he introduces into his world and who "follow" and serve him. Nevertheless, the seer, like the prophet, is a lonely figure, set apart by the nature of his experience and the awe which he inspires by his presence. The seer is held in great reverence and honour, part of which may be due to his age or psychological peculiarities. Like the prophet, this type of *homo religiosus* may be visited by ecstatic states, visions, auditions, and even cataleptic trances. There have been few young seers; the experience of a long life seems to be necessary. Moreover, the seer is credited with a particularly close connection with the past, which enhances his prestige, and is often regarded as the keeper and guardian of tradition. Whereas the bard and the scribe hand down the literal content of the oral and written lore, the seer guarantees in his person and message the spirit of this heritage. Like the magician and pronouncer of charms, the seer speaks solemnly, and emphasis is placed on each of his words and utterances. The audiences of the seer are drawn to him by various motives. People approach the magician to obtain a favour, but the seer often takes the initiative himself and challenges others by his sayings. The tragic undertone in the existence of the seer is due to the overpowering burden of his insight, which may

anticipate some future catastrophe. At the same time he is aware of the difficulty, danger, or impossibility of imparting his knowledge without causing fear, sorrow, and despair to others. Cassandra symbolizes this aspect of the seer's inner existence.

We have seen previously that we can distinguish clearly various types of religious authority, the nature of some of which we are attempting to describe. Now the seer has not always been rightly recognized and identified as such by historians and students of religion. Some of those personalities who commonly are regarded and described as seers will have to be placed in another category. Religious charisma is often complex, and an analysis of the various features which appear combined in individual cases might well throw some light on the essential features in the nature and activity of the seer.

The seer is well known in the history of Hebrew religion. With Balaam and Deborah, the prophetic element outweighs that of the seer. Samuel, manifold as his activities were, clearly represents the seer. Characteristically enough, both terms *ro'eh* and *chozeh*, the former applied to Samuel and the latter to Gad, have the meaning "to see", "to look", or "to gaze", which differentiates their charisma from that of the prophet, *nabi*. There is, however, much that is characteristic of the seer in the great prophets, particularly the earlier ones, in Amos, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and others. This fact is recognized in the Old Testament itself ("for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer", I Sam. ix, 9). When they are called "men of God", "messengers of Yahweh", and "watchmen", the nature of their commission is clearly indicated. The seer (*mantis*) was well known in Greece and enjoyed high authority there. Frequently he appears connected with a sanctuary; if Apollo himself was regarded as the *mantis* of Delphi, according to a recent study (Fascher), the Pythia was the *promantis*. The Greek *prophetes* or *hypophetes* was more a seer than a prophet, as we can infer from the "impersonal" character of his utterances and the absence of the historical reference which latter characterizes the Hebrew prophet.

7. THE MAGICIAN

It might be questioned whether we are justified in including an analysis of the activities of the magician in a study of types of religious authority. Should there not be a strict dividing-line

between such apparently different activities as magic and religion? Of course, each of these does imply a distinct attitude. No better definition has been given than the suggestion that magic means to force the numen to grant what is desired. There is "protective" magic guarding against evil influences, and there is "winning" magic procuring favours of the spirits. Religion, on the other hand, means submission to and worship of the divine power upon which man feels dependent. The two attitudes, however, differ more in their "intention" than in their outward expression, the latter being at times nearly identical in both cases. Thus, the sociologist has to be less concerned with the distinction between magic and religion than the theologian or even the historian of religion. Yet, even sociologically speaking, the "magician" represents a category of his own, whatever "meaning" his attitude, actions, and activities may have. The relation in which he stands to his followers (audience) and the effect he aims at are significantly different from those of either the prophet or the seer.

I would suggest that a clear line be drawn between magician and priest (priesthood will be discussed later on) and between magician and diviner. The magician has little connection with the cultus as a regular institution. The diviner and the priest, on the other hand, are, as we will see, primarily cult officials. The diviner has always remained closely associated with it, whereas priestly functions have become very diversified. Most of the different activities which in the course of time became independent of the priesthood have been originally connected with the cult. This is true of the scholar, the teacher, and the doctor. The authority of the seer again, to whom the diviner might be compared, is based, as we have seen, on his personal charisma. There is little or no "technique" or "training" and very little organization and remuneration in seerdom. The genuine magician may well be revered and honoured for the personal charisma he possesses. Yet his activity frequently becomes institutionalized and organized as a profession with formal admission, education, rewards, and remuneration. Although the term "magician" is often used in a very vague sense, it invariably implies the command of power due to communion with the unseen or the spirits. This power may be bestowed once and for all or temporarily and repeatedly, either as a free gift or as a reward for special training and ascetic practices. The authority of the magician is proportionate to his fulfilment of the expectations of his clients. In other words, his prestige is less firmly established

and more dependent upon his professional "success" than that of the prophet or seer. Psychologically, these three types of religious activity are similar in possessing the same nervous susceptibility and sensitiveness, the same disposition to trances and ecstasy, and the same inclination to vision, audition, and "clairvoyance". In so far as these gifts are regarded as congenital, a part of the "natural" equipment of the individual, the charisma resulting from it is a personal one. When they can be acquired by training or heritage, institutional features develop (official charisma).

The magician enjoys great prestige among primitive peoples and is found all over the world. The reports of travellers, missionaries, and anthropologists have furnished us with an enormous amount of material concerning the nature and function of the magician in primitive society. Anthropologists and students of religion have examined the psychological, the economic, and the sociological implications of this activity. We know of outstanding individual charismatics and typologically interesting organizations of magicians in Australia, Melanesia, Africa, and among American Indians. The authority of the magician is dominant also among the pagan and Buddhist peoples of north-eastern and south-eastern Asia, in China, and in India, among the Semitic tribes of Arabia and North Africa and in western Asia, and among the Germanic tribes and the Celts. Oriental influences acquainted the Hellenistic world with magic and its exponents. Some historical figures seem to defy distinct classification: Apollonius of Tyana, teacher and magician; Alexander of Abonoteichos, diviner and magician; Simon Magus, prophet and magician. They all have exercised an authority corresponding, and very closely akin, to that of the magician. Inasmuch as they promote "new" doctrine and forms of worship, their activities resemble those of the prophet. Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism have provided theoretical discussions on the authority of the religious leaders who enjoyed so unrivalled a popularity in the Hellenistic world. In most of the world religions where there was no place for them, magicians have crept in through the "back door" and have been legitimized by the "protection" of some great disciple or saint. Classic examples are Laotse and Liehtse in Taoism; Moggallana, one of the Buddha's great apostles, as well as Nagarjuna and Asanga, the brilliant teachers in Buddhism and in Tantrism; finally, some of the celebrated shaikhs of Sufism in Islam. In Judaism the cabbalistic

and Chassidic masters who succeeded earlier prophetic figures are now celebrated as magicians (Moses, Elijah, Elisha, Ari, Baal Shem Tob). Christian legends have developed in a similar vein. It is well known that in some religions there are magician-gods. They may have been deified mortals or may be regarded as incarnations and manifestations of magical power; in any case, they illustrate the enormous prestige of the magician. In Egypt, Horus, Isis, and Set; in the Hellenistic world, Hermes; in India, Shiva; and in the North, Odin, may serve as illustrations.

The authority of the magician is greatly enhanced by symbols, emblems, and utensils which are his special property, for example, peculiar language, costumes, mantle, instruments, weapons, jewels, perfumes. These functionaries may have traditions of their own which are considered the property either of individual magicians or of a whole group. As indicated above, there are personal and official charismatics among the magicians, and both have their followers. In the former case the magician has his personal disciples to whom he imparts his power, and in the latter the pupils are subject to training and education enabling them to advance in the organization. Magicians may have a regular and steady or a varying clientele (local group or other sociological division). Some magicians are transients; others settle permanently in one place (cultic centre, court, etc.).

8. THE DIVINER

The charisma of the diviner is originally personal, but easily and regularly becomes institutionalized. The diviner shares with the seer a "passive" character, but differs from him in having to rely on objects which he uses as mediums for the interpretation of the will of the gods. These objects can be of very different types. They may be natural phenomena, interpreted as "signs", or parts of the bodies of living beings used as "mirrors". The diviner combines the seer's natural qualities and talents with a technique and training which separate him from the seer and mark him as akin to the magician. Diviners differ from the latter and from the prophets, with whom they are frequently but erroneously identified, in that they respond to questions put to them by groups or individuals. Ordinarily, however, they do not display as much social activity as do, for example, the prophets. The magician is not usually very much interested in the theoretical

aspects of his craft; his function is predominantly a practical one. The diviner, on the other hand, bases his interpretation on a general scheme or "theory" of the cosmos, which claims a correspondence between the human and the divine realms (microcosm mirroring macrocosm, etc.). The scheme is not so much a spontaneous creative expression of individual religious experience, as in the case of the "prophet", but is rather the tradition of a normative discipline. Even in primitive society this discipline reaches a high degree of perfection and complexity. The Polynesians, Africans, and American Indians have developed elaborate systems and intricate techniques for the regulation of divination. As a rather well-organized body of technicians, the diviners enjoy high prestige. Classic methods and schools of divination are represented in some of the higher civilizations, as in the Polynesian, the Mexican, the Chinese, the Sumero-Babylonian, the Etruscan, the Greek, and the Roman. The *disciplina Etrusca* of which Cicero and Pliny have to tell such interesting details is a case in point. The *haruspex* was concerned with the examination of parts of the animal body, each related to a ruling deity. Lightning was interpreted according to its origin from the sixteen different parts of heaven and the various gods presiding over them. Prodigies and portents kept the diviners busy. The problem of the interrelation of these great historical systems (common origin from one source or parallel independent growth) does not concern us here. It is sufficient for our purposes to bear in mind the striking resemblances in the structure of these systems and in the content and details of their interpretation. The type of religious authority represented by the diviner, however, does not usually occur on the highest level of religion; the priest absorbs such functions, as the process of replacing the old "scheme" by a new doctrine and theology advances. The religions mentioned above also illustrate the transition from the diviner to the priest and various combinations of both activities (priestly diviners and divining priests). Diviners are frequently organized as a class or group within the priestly hierarchy and may fulfil duties and functions other than their own. Typologically speaking, however, there is definitely a difference between priest and diviner which is ultimately based on their respective conceptions of the numen and of the relation between God and man. Some light is shed on the nature of divination by the antagonism between its representatives and the prophets. The question of norms and moral principles (i.e. ethical issues)

plays an important part in prophecy, whereas the diviner is fundamentally indifferent to the development of ethical codes.

9. THE SAINT

In speaking of a saint, we think first of the Christian saints and especially those canonized by the Roman Catholic church, although the term "saint" is nowadays often used more broadly to denote a godly, unselfish, and charitable person. This usage tends to obscure the original conception of the saint, which is more that of a holy than a "good" man. The term is a religious one and only secondarily an ethical category. The saint's authority is intrinsic and independent of his other qualifications. The term "saint" may be used very broadly so as to include all those called "men of God" (e.g., prophets, seers, ascetics, etc.) or, more selectively, may characterize a particular type of religious authority. The latter is the more satisfactory usage. It is not an easy task to differentiate between the various categories, however, and to classify historical personalities accordingly. For example, it does not seem appropriate to apply the term "saint" to the Buddha or Mohammed or Confucius, as it is occasionally done. The authority of the saint is distinctly inferior to that of the "founder". Neither can it match that of the prophet, although here the difference is not so great. The active character of the prophetic personality seems at variance with the more passive nature of the saint. The saint shares with both the founder and the prophet the possession of a personal charisma, but is distinguished from the magician by his emphasis on moral requirements and possibly also by the absence of attachment to an institutional organization. There are, however, exceptions to the latter (e.g., in India). Seers may be saints, but certainly all saints are not seers, the specific charisma of the seer not being a typical mark of the saint. There is less likelihood of confusing the latter with either the diviner or the priest, for their charisma is primarily an institutional one. This, of course, does not mean that a "priest" cannot be a saint. History supplies us with many examples to illustrate the contrary.

In distinction from other types of religious authority, the saint's prestige depends not so much on achievement as upon his personal nature and character. As he is not especially bound by professional ties, he does not necessarily excel in intellectual or in

practical talents. His guidance—and it is characteristic of the saint to guide and direct the lives of others—is eagerly sought. Whereas the prophet, with whom the saint shares in exercising such influence, arouses the people by the vigorous impulse of his powerful preaching, the saint may exert his influence quietly but constantly and intensively, though the fierce and fiery temperament of some saints reminds us of the prophet. The saint influences others more by the indirect effect of example than by precept. The life of the saint is wholly determined by his basic religious experience, which sometimes comes early in his life. The biographies of many saints tell of a decisive “conversion”. He enjoys communion with the deity in a particularly intensive way. This communion with God is frequently characterized by continuous prayer and may have a mystical connotation. The lives of many saints are lives of *povertà*, reduced to the mere necessities, though vigorous asceticism is not universal among them. The authority of the saint finds sociological expression either in circles and groups, bound together by the personal charisma of the leader, or in purely individual relations of a spontaneous or organized character. Frequently gathering and integration of such a group are effected or accelerated by the death of the saint. People continue to venerate him or his memory, hoping for his help and intercession. Ethnical, political, professional, and social groups adopt the protective figure of a certain saint or form new organizations integrated by his cult. Having been credited with miracles during his lifetime, the saint is expected to continue to impart the blessings of his power through his relics. Thus his grave may become a centre of cultic significance and a symbol dear and valuable to all who place themselves and their community under his protection. A long chapter in the history of religion is filled with the documentation of the cult of the saints, which may degenerate into low forms of “superstition” and magic. All these phenomena, however, prove the far-reaching and efficacious sociological influence of the charisma of the saint.

Before we examine some illustrations of the role of saints in the religions of the world, we should consider briefly one special type—the saint as martyr. The idea of martyrdom as a supreme sacrifice in the service of faith is not limited to the great monotheistic religions. The prestige of saints and other men of God is greatly enhanced by their sacrifice of life in proof of their loyalty to God and their religion. The history of Judaism,

Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, and Hinduism supplies plentiful material for the study of the sociological effect of martyrdom.

Are there "saints" in primitive religions? Though we may assume that some charismatics among primitive religious leaders enjoy an authority similar to the saint's, a higher degree of civilization appears necessary to produce a "saintly" character and life. In Eastern Asiatic civilizations, however, this type of religious authority is clearly traceable. The Japanese (Shinto) conception of a *kami*, the later Confucian idea of an exemplary life, and especially the Taoist ideal of the Shen-jen prove this. India, the cradle of religions and always favourable to the development of different types of religious activity and authority, is the classic home of sainthood. In Brahminism the magician, seer, and priest predominate, but in Hinduism the saint is a familiar figure. In all Hindu denominations we find the tradition of devotion and cultus paid to living and dead spiritual leaders. Both Jainism and Buddhism provide for the veneration of saints, and elaborate theological systems have been outlined, particularly in Mahayana Buddhism, with a detailed classification of the various stages of sainthood, as in the famous treatise called *Bodhisattva-acharya*, written by the celebrated Santideva. Elaborate liturgical practice marks the devotion to the saints and their relics. Mongolian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese Buddhism in all its schools and divisions produced a long line of saints. The conception of Bodhisattvahood (stage of becoming a Buddha) provides room for a carefully graded hierarchy of spiritual achievements.

We might ask if there are saints in Judaism. This question should be answered in the affirmative. In post-biblical times Rabbi Jehuda ha-Nasi and Rabbi Hillel and more recently mystics like Isaac Luria and the Baal Shem Tob exercised saintly authority. Mohammedanism has always regarded its saints (*wali*) highly and venerated them. Hagiography is not unknown in Islamic literature, as the famous *Tezkiret al Ewliya* ("Records of the Saints") of Ferid Eddin Attar shows. Sufism aided in the fostering of the tradition and authority of saintly *shaiikhs*. The history of the Islamic orders provides interesting material for the study of Mohammedan saints who flourished in Asia Minor and Persia in the past but have since become less frequent, particularly in Turkey. Central Asiatic Islam had a long series of holy leaders. In Mohammedan India many of the highly venerated

saints are of foreign origin, but some of them are worshipped by Hindus and Moslems alike. In North Africa the cult of "Mara-but" is still flourishing. Many volumes have been written about the lives and legends of the Christian saints. The Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches have recognized and officially defined the authority of saints, and the latter reserves to itself the exclusive right of elevation to sainthood. The official canonization follows popular veneration. Inasmuch as the church grants this honour only to the dead, it is the memory of the saints around which their cult centres (relics, images). Protestantism also has its saints, though they are not usually called by that name. Because of the predominance of the charismatic over the institutional in the nature of the saint as well as the prophet, we meet with both types of authority frequently in the history of minimum groups (cf. above, chap. v, sec. 9) and of sectarianism (sec. 12). Even where few distinctions may be recognized, as in most equalitarian groups, spiritual authority of the type of the saint as well as the prophet is acknowledged and regarded as legitimate, though, again, the terminology which is employed to designate it may vary.

10. THE PRIEST

The authority of the priest depends upon the charisma of his office. The calling, not the call, characterizes the priest, though, of course, such a call may be, supposedly or actually, the beginning of the priestly life in the individual case. Communion with the deity is the basis of priestly existence and activity. This communion is meant to be a continuous and regular one. Direct contact with the numen is the connecting link between the priest and the other types of religious authority discussed until now. Although less original, spontaneous, and intense than that of the founder and the prophet, the priest's personal religious experience guarantees the qualification for his mission. The priest "mediates" between God and man. There are resemblances between the magician and the priest despite decisive differences. A priest may practise divination, but this is not his primary or exclusive function, as it is the diviner's. The priest is also not bound by any special group of phenomena in determining the will of the gods, and it is his business not only to interpret the divine will but also to regulate and to strengthen generally the relation between

God and his fellow-men. The institution of the priesthood is inferior to the great types of personal religious charisma, but the priestly is the most comprehensive of all specifically religious activities in the history of man. The sociological implication and import of this activity is accordingly very far-reaching. The different functions of the priest, the typical forms of priesthood, and the typology of the associations in which it is organized will be discussed presently.

Wherever personal charisma, the "breathing of the spirit", prevails, enthusiasm and emotionalism abound. We find evidence for that in the history of the great founders, of the prophets and seers, and of their followers. The development of some of the more primitive and of all the higher religions supplies us with ample material for the study of these creative epochs and their transition to another era, where a different philosophy, psychology, and sociology prevail. Where gifts of the spirit are bestowed more rarely and enthusiasm subsides, formalized expression takes the place of spontaneous outbursts. A more moderate and temperate spirit develops, worship becomes regulated, a theory is outlined, and a definite organization emerges. We traced this process previously (chap. v). This process provides the background against which the development of the priesthood must be seen. There is, however, no unilinear development. Waves of new enthusiasm, spiritual renaissances, and new beginnings seem to interrupt and correct tendencies to standardization and petrification. Some of the most interesting phases in the history of religions are characterized by the struggle between charisma and office, spiritualism and ecclesiasticism, or between prophet and priest. In practically all higher religions such movements arise from external and internal stimuli and issue in reformations and secessions, as we have seen previously. It should be remembered that frequently spiritual and prophetic characters in the highest degree are found among priests. Several Hebrew prophets have emerged from their ranks (e.g., Ezekiel and Zechariah). A vague and irregular spiritualism is contrary to the idea of the priesthood and is viewed as a relapse into an outworn past or into religious chaos and anarchy. That is understandable and not necessarily to be interpreted as an indication of group egotism, narrowness, or ill will. It should be taken for granted that genuine spiritual authority would be recognized wherever it would appear, but as it is rare—rarer than many a sectarian thinks—provisions seem necessary to keep open the

channels through which divine grace can reach man. This eternal dilemma has found an unusually profound expression in Fyodor Dostoyevsky's story of *The Grand Inquisitor*.

We have attempted to analyse various types of prophecy and seerdom and the practice of magic and divination. The prophet requires only the "gift of grace"; natural endowment, intellectual or emotional predisposition, and training are only accessory and vary considerably. For magic and divination special qualities and talents are of great importance. For the priesthood regular ritual (liturgical) observance and a fixed theology are essential. Many primitive peoples regard the exclusive possession of qualities or means to communicate with the numen as the only religious gifts; here the transition from priest to magician appears easy but for the difference in their respective "intentions". The necessary "qualities" consist either in specific physical requirements—physical fitness or characteristic deformities—or in special emotional or intellectual endowments, or in prescribed age (youth, old age).

Very important is the role which preparation and education play in priesthood. The training is intended to develop the faculties and abilities required for the performance of the cultus. It centres in the development and maintenance of the proper communion with the numen, from which the *mana* or "sanctity" of the priest results. Ascetic practices bring body and will under the necessary control; meditation and prayer are destined to prepare the soul; instruction and study will train the mind. Though the priest may also be a teacher and scholar, his primary function is the conduct of worship. It has been clearly shown that science and learning developed in all civilizations of the world from cultic observances and that all knowledge was originally sacred knowledge. Because the right performance of cultic acts required knowledge of time, space, language, and technical accessories, great systems of knowledge emerged in Mexico, China, India, Babylonia, Persia, Egypt, and in the West. These systems result from a systematic inquiry into the manifestations, the will, and plan of the gods and the endeavour to maintain close communion with them. They include ritual and ethical standards as well as factual and technical information. At lower levels of civilization the intermediary role of the priest involves the observance of taboo; he is the dispenser of all "knowledge" as to standards and rules and imparts to both numen and men their due. It is frequently difficult to differentiate properly

between the magician and the priest. The former forces the deity or the spirits to obey him; the latter submits his will to the divine. Though the popular authority of the priest derives mostly from those activities which distribute the blessings of the gods to individuals and groups, it rests ultimately on his communion with the numen expressed in formalized cult. Because the numen is attended, there is the expectation that the special desires of the people may be fulfilled by the deity. Regular acts of propitiation performed by trained officiants are thought to avert evil and gain health, power, wealth, fertility, and success. However the numen is conceived, its minister is believed to have power to win and secure its favour, to avert maleficence. As long as the mediation of the priest is desired to secure material or ideal advantages (*do ut des*), religion is still close to magic, but a higher stage is reached where it becomes the function of the priest to thank and to adore in his own and others' names. The implications of the priest's cultic activity can be studied more clearly as civilization progresses. The differentiation of various functions, which may have reached a high degree in some "primitive" societies, increases as religion develops. A distinction is made between the cultic acts themselves and all subsidiary activities which, in the course of time, have clustered around this essential function. Elaborate and complicated systems of divination, propitiation, sacrifice, prayer, and other rites and ceremonies are found in Shintoism, Confucianism, Brahminism, Hinduism, and Parsiism, in Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Egypt, and in the Etruscan, Roman, Celtic, Greek, Slavic, and Germanic religions. Different orders of priestly functionaries correspond to these different types of cultic acts. With increase and differentiation in duties and activities, there is also a qualitative change. A greater emphasis is placed on the exactness of the cultic performances as a prerequisite to their efficacy. Words, formulas, and rites must be punctiliously pronounced and executed. Particularly the ritual of the sacrifice, in all its varieties and with all its paraphernalia, requires a well-trained and organized body of priests to perform and supervise the procedure. Individual numina are served by special groups of priests. Their life is dedicated to this service by solemn vows. Many restrictions apply to the servants of the God which are not binding on the common people. A great variety of taboos emphasizes their *mana* or holiness and thus increases the efficacy of their activity. Celibacy is in many primitive and higher religions a pre-requisite

of the priestly office and serves the same purpose of setting its holder apart. Elaborate ceremonies are prescribed in many cults to guarantee the chastity and purity of those who are to perform the sacred ritual.

We cannot here deal exhaustively with the development and history of the priesthood. This task must be left to the historian of religion. Here it will suffice to point out that its history has not run an even course. Under primitive conditions the father of the family frequently acts as the "priest" of his house, and the chieftain or king may officiate personally or by proxy as the priest or high priest of his tribe, people, or state. The priesthood may be exercised by special tribes, clans, or families, as in Israel, Greece, Rome, Persia, and India, and some nations have retained this arrangement for a long time. Yet, even in very primitive society, individuals are set apart who are primarily or exclusively concerned with the maintaining of communion with the numen. The exclusive exercise of the cult by the priesthood, however, has been completed only in some parts of the world and has frequently led to reactions of great significance. Judaism and Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism, supply interesting illustrations. The success of the oriental religions of salvation in the Roman Empire can be partly explained as a reaction of this kind: dissatisfaction with the standardized forms of religion and with the performance of the traditional functionaries. The idea of a general priesthood, as conceived by Luther and the Reformers, has a striking parallel in the Mahayana Buddhism of the Pure-Land sects. Historical dialectic, however, does not stop with this antithesis. We see that developments towards a new organization follow such reactions. In the great Reformed churches a certain exclusiveness of the "ministerial" office develops. New reactions follow, like Pietism in Lutheranism and Methodism in the Anglican church. A deep-rooted difference in the conception of the nature, function, and limitation of ministerial authority thus becomes apparent.

As we have indicated previously, priestly functions are exercised among identical groups by their heads or leaders; such as the father in the family, the chieftain in the clan or tribe, the king in the nation or people. With the growing development and differentiation of social organizations and stratification, certain cultic functions of the leader are associated with special individuals or professional groups, and, as a result, professional magicians, diviners, and even prophets emerge in the more highly differen-

tiated "primitive" societies. Since it seems advisable to limit the term "priest" to the holder of a special office, the above-mentioned functions of the paterfamilias, chieftain, or king might be called "semi-priestly". This semi-priestly activity is found among groups in which the religious and political bodies are identical. With the increasing complexity of cultural and sociological conditions, professional differentiation takes place, and a professional priesthood appears. Its chief business is, as we have seen previously, the performance of cultic acts; but it is highly complex from the start. The natural group (clan, tribe, people), the local group (village, town, district), the political group (nation), or divisions within these groups may be associated with special types and orders of priests. More frequently, however, priests are connected with the formation of specifically religious organizations. Groups of followers may be temporarily integrated by the personal charisma of the priestly leader alone or organized as institutional units like the "congregation" and "parish". Whereas in some denominational bodies the local or personal congregation remains the only active sociological unit of religious character ("congregationalism"), elsewhere a gradual development leads to more complex organization. The representatives of the priesthood are organized in orders, and a hierarchy may develop. This process has to be examined in connection with the study of the growth of religious organization in general.⁶ We observe in the great world religions a highly complex structure in which a more or less differentiated order of groups corresponds to the priestly hierarchy with its various activities.

The main function of the priest, as has been pointed out, is cultic. It is here that the real difference between the priest and the other types, such as the magician, diviner, and conjurer, becomes apparent. Worship, as the very expression of religious experience, however primitive or rudimentary its form may be, is the main concern of the priest. He guarantees the right performance of formalized acts of worship. The priest is the guardian of traditions and the keeper of the sacred knowledge and of the technique of meditation and prayer. He is the custodian of the holy law, which corresponds to the cosmic moral and ritual order upon which the world, the community, and the individual depend. As an interpreter of this law, the priest may function as judge, administrator, teacher, and scholar, formulate

⁶ See below, Appendix.

standards and rules of conduct, and enforce their observance. Contemplation and action are intimately interwoven in his life. Since he performs the sacred rites, he creates and fosters the arts of sacred song, writing, literature, music, dance, sacred painting, sculpture, and architecture. The priest lays the foundation of theology, history, philology, law, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy. As a theologian he becomes the primary factor in the formation of theology as the theoretical expression of religious experience, the main stages of which we characterized in our introductory chapters. The systematization of myths and doctrine, the formulation of creeds, and the collection, redaction, and codification of the sacred writings are his affair. This is evident in the religion of the Maya and Aztecs, Egyptians and Babylonians, Syrians and Phoenicians, Teutons and Celts, Persians and Hindus, Chinese and Japanese, and it is carried even further in the great world religions, such as early Christianity, the Orthodox Eastern, Anglican, and the old Protestant churches, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Judaism, Mandaeism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Jainism, Confucianism, and Taoism. Max Weber and others have made brilliant analyses of the unique process of intellectualization in the West from the sociological viewpoint. With this development the priestly influence wanes, and other types of leadership emerge and begin to dominate Western civilization, such as the scholar, the philosopher, the literatus, the statesman, and the merchant prince.

As the guardian of tradition, the priest is also the wise man, the adviser, educator, and philosopher. His various administrative duties are derived from his cultic activities. He maintains and supervises everything pertaining to the cult: sacred places, buildings, images, and religious instruments, property and finances, the performance of ceremonies, of festivals and processions. A considerable difference naturally exists between the simple but varied activity of the priest in primitive civilization and his meticulously prescribed functions in some of the highly developed ritualistic religions. With the growing complexity of priestly duties, the tendency towards the development of a hierarchical order of priestly functions and activities increases. In some of the more ritualistic cults the performance of the appropriate rites becomes so technical that there is little room for the activity of the layman. In extreme cases the priestly caste may monopolize the cult to the practical exclusion of those in whose name it is ultimately performed.

We noted a difference in the sociological effect of the work of the prophet, who, in accordance with his spontaneous and direct activity, gathers varying groups of followers, and of the priest, whose "flock" is regular and stable. In relation to his congregation the priest carries out some of his most important functions, which we have not mentioned so far. Through his regular dealings with a group of people or individuals who come to him, rely on him, and depend on him for the performance of necessary cultic acts, the priest becomes a guide, adviser, comforter, "pastor", and "confessor". Through this immediate and intimate contact the priest exerts the tremendous influence to which the history of civilization bears witness. This influence was originally primarily religious, but extended soon into the moral, social, cultural, and political spheres. In "primitive" society the priestly adviser to the ruler often controls the life of the people far beyond the immediate scope of his priestly function. In many civilizations an organized priesthood has exerted an influence second to none in the state and has rivalled the rulers in power and prestige (Egypt, Celts, India, Israel, Persia). A gigantic struggle took place between the priestly and secular power in Western (and, to a lesser degree, Eastern) medieval Christianity. The parochial work of the parish priest, however, and the quiet and profound influence of this type of spiritual leadership have always been more far-reaching than all his "official" activity in public affairs. This can be particularly well studied in historical types of mystical piety. The Hindu *guru*, the Sufi *shaikh*, the Hellenistic *pater*, the Russian *starets*, and the *directeur de l'âme* in Roman Catholic Quietism and in Protestant Pietism are examples of such influence. Not only in the hierarchically graded ecclesiastical bodies but also in religious groups of a more or less equalitarian constitution the pastor or minister, the regular or monastic spiritual leader, and even the sectarian elder, overseer, or "bishop" may become the implicitly trusted, rightly revered, and indispensable guides of their followers. The religious guidance of souls involves the care of the physical, moral, social, and economic well-being of the "flock". Even in modern Western civilization, where a high degree of specialization had narrowed the activities of the priestly profession, a *rapprochement* has taken place between physicians, social workers, and priests in recent times which has tended to restore the unity of the priestly work never lost in the Orient.

The tremendous authority the priest enjoyed throughout

almost all the history of human civilization is reflected in the manifold rights, honours, and privileges granted to priestly individuals and groups. High position and rank, special emblems, distinctions, and dress, exemption from public duties such as taxes, military service, etc., are indications of the high esteem and social prestige in which priesthood is held. The priestly office may be hereditary, as in Israel, Greece, Rome, and Japan, and to a certain extent in the Russian church. Priests are at times organized as exclusive groups or castes, but elsewhere admission to this office is free. Descent (birth) as well as a political and social position may qualify a candidate for the priesthood, but an individual may also become a priest on grounds of his personal qualification (see above) by election, adoption, appointment, lot, and even purchase. Women are admitted to the priesthood by many peoples (Egypt, Celts, Greece, Rome, ancient Western Asia, Japan, South and North America). Corresponding to the regularity of their functioning, priests are usually granted rewards for their activity. These may take the form of personal gifts, presents, payments, or a regular salary derived from revenues or produce. Frequent reactions have set in against too great an entanglement in economic life on the part of the priesthood (English and German Reformation, origin of Buddhism in reaction against Brahminism, Japanese Buddhistic reformations, etc.). Voluntary poverty of priests is well known in Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. We have studied the emergence and development of monastic life and monastic organization in a previous chapter of this volume (chap. v, sec. 11), where we had occasion to examine various types of protest against developments in ecclesiasticism.

It is beyond our scope here to attempt a psychological analysis of the priestly character, as has been done through the ages by friend and foe. Generalizations are dangerous and irrelevant. There can be no question that the "call" to the priesthood, whenever it is based on genuine and sincere experience, may have a deep transforming influence upon the character of those who are "set apart" and more or less exclusively dedicated to this office. There are also many temptations not only of the ordinary human variety but also in the psychological reaction to the peculiar social and psychological situation of the priest, and weaker characters have only too often succumbed. Nietzsche has, though rather subjectively, analysed these features in his vitriolic essay "*Genealogie der Moral*". A more objective presentation

would produce a very different picture and reveal the heights of perfection and self-sacrifice of which human character is capable. There is hardly a greater task—and a greater burden—than, as a true servant, to minister to others. The accusations of destructive and negative influence on human civilization and progress by the priesthood are counterbalanced by its beneficent, at once conserving and stimulating, effect. With the modern process of professional specialization and differentiation and as a result of secularization in general the priesthood and the ministry have lost tremendously in prestige and authority in the modern world. One after another, their functions have been reduced; and, with the loss of the integrating power of traditional religion on modern life in the West and East, the authority of the priest, where it has not been diluted, has become more and more limited to certain groups within the larger community. If the loss of worldly honour and social or political prestige were to be outweighed by a growth in spiritual perfection and religious influence of the ministry, it would not be regretted and could not be lamented, least of all by the true priest.

II. THE "RELIGIOSUS"

Religious authority does not depend upon high individual or group or caste prestige and is not limited to the holders of special or regular ecclesiastical and ministerial offices. There have always and everywhere been men and women who have been compelled by their religious experience to live a life of closer communion with God than that of ordinary people and, without withdrawing entirely from the world, to order their lives according to special religious rules. Various methods have been followed. The individual may try to live an isolated life, form a community, or cultivate privately a contemplative or active religious life, with or without special vows or consecrations. A certain "prestige" results from the charisma of such an existence, and it seems correct to say that it has a stimulating and integrating influence on religion in society. Those in the monastic life in all its variety (hermits, anchorites, monks, and nuns, tertiaries, sodales), ascetics and consecrated persons, and those who care for the sick and the poor and the destitute, prompted by religious motives, fall within the range of this type of religious authority. In practically all religions we find groups and individuals engaged in such activity and in the pursuit of the "good life", particularly

in higher and more complex civilizations and societies. A few examples will suffice to illustrate a type of religious authority which marks the boundary line between the laity and priesthood.⁷

The Nazirites of the Old Testament dedicated themselves to the deity by vowing not to cut their hair, drink wine, or touch a dead body, and to fulfil certain rites prescribed for them (I Samuel, chap. i; Num. vi, 1-21). It may be that participation in the wars for Yahweh was originally a requirement of the Nazirite code (Judges, chaps. xiii, ff.), though the figure of Samson is a mosaic of different types of charisma. Later on it seems to have had all the characteristics of a temporary ascetic obligation. Frazer and van der Leeuw have collected examples of consecration of men and women to the gods, associated with the cultus, as the Babylonian *harimtu* and *qadishtu*, the Greek oriental hierodules, the Hindu bayadères, the Roman vestals. They interpreted very aptly the significance of this dedication. Hinduism and Buddhism have both produced a great variety of forms of such life and activity, and in modern Buddhism, Christian influence has made itself widely felt in moulding associations along such lines. We had occasion to refer to the broad movement which swept Christian Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, producing new forms of devotion and associations among the laymen who had been prepared for a fuller participation in the Christian life by the mendicant preaching missions. The seventeenth century saw a similar crusade for an intensification of the religious efforts of the laymen in the Pietist circles, thus preparing the ground for the Awakenings which, in successive waves, gathered thousands through all Christian lands, leading to the formation of innumerable temporary or lasting groups and associations of persons inclined and resolved to sanctify their lives and to consecrate them to the service of God and their fellow men.

12. THE AUDIENCE

In concluding this chapter, one task remains: that of outlining very briefly what might be called a sociological study of the groups corresponding to religious authority. The nature and organization of these groups vary greatly. There is the ephemeral, heterogeneous "audience" of the migrating preacher or prophet, attracted by the charisma of a personality, which is gathered and dispersed with equal readiness. There is also the

⁷ See above, chap. v.

structurally analogous casual crowd attending a religious celebration like a procession or festival. In addition, there is the permanent circle accompanying the founder, prophet, or seer. Such a group consists of distinct uninterchangeable characters (circle of disciples and followers) perpetuating itself as an organization which outlives the original members. Furthermore, there is the regionally well-defined and established "parish" and "diocese", administered by the minister and priest, or superintendent and "bishop", and there is the more or less organized "meeting" of the close-knit equalitarian, independent, or sectarian group. The anonymous attendant at the confessional, the group of ministering acolytes at the Catholic Mass, the casual visitor to a temple, church, or chapel, and the devoted "members" of a personal or local congregation are all as such of interest to the sociologist. The sociology of the meeting, the conference, the synod, the council, and other representative assemblies in religious bodies is well worth close study. Such study would include all types of groups; they may be smaller or larger, of a more transitory or more permanent character, more or less homogeneous, more or less well organized, and more or less active.

Charismatic groups are, sociologically speaking, always a more difficult object of study because of their rapidly changing character, the spontaneity of their leadership, and the ever-present possibility of unforeseen developments. The spirit bloweth where it listeth, and rapid and unexpected changes and transitions, often motivated by personal impulses and reactions, will defy any scheme outlined by the systematizing examiner. The study of charismatic groups will therefore, though certainly not overlooking patterns and stereotyped developments, on the whole be of a more casuistic and individual character. Growing organization confronts the sociologist with new problems. It is intensely interesting to compare the report of the Book of Acts on the groups founded, integrated, and reintegrated by the apostles of Jesus Christ and the conditions described in the Pauline epistles to his congregations with the letters of the Apostolic Fathers, which bear witness to the change of the religious and sociological "climate". This study can be supplemented by an examination of the documents on the origin, growth, and development of reformed and sectarian Christian groups through the ages. It is surprising how little sociologists have done in tracing the patterns of attitudes of audiences in Christian and non-Christian groups. One great problem of all organized bodies is to keep their members at work

at common interests, and various devices are conceived and employed in different religious groups. New types of associations have resulted, as we have seen previously.⁸ Thinking in terms of modern Western civilization and religion, there is a temptation to overestimate the role of intellectual culture and endeavour. Previously we have stated that the decisive integrating power in religion is worship. A group of people who pray together becomes unified even if composed of socially, intellectually, or otherwise heterogeneous elements, at least for the time the devotion lasts. A group of people who pray and worship together regularly become, at least temporarily, brethren and sisters in a more than metaphorical sense. The decision may be made and prevail to carry these concepts and attitudes over into various and perhaps all fields of existence (common life). The assumption of duties and responsibilities, distinctions and privileges will always prove an excellent means to create interest and encourage the co-operation of members of a religious group. A group the cohesion of which is—ultimately—based on religious premises will always centre its life in a worship communion; but the latter may be integrated in typically different ways. Even silence, which might appear superficially to exclude communion, may serve as a powerful means of integration. It marks, for example, the most solemn moment in the Mass, the most elaborate form of commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ in Christian worship, and is central in the service of the outstanding Christian community which opposes most consistently all stereotyped forms of worship, the Quaker meeting. Fostering the “centring-down”, as Fox’s disciples like to call this recollection aided by silence, it has been called a “rare and supreme art of communion” (Rufus Jones). The Orient makes a wide use of it, and Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Taoism have always borne witness to its “numinous” value.

The “word”, spontaneously uttered or recited as a formula, used for its numinous effect or for the conveying of definite meaning, has ever had a particularly strong effect upon the minds of men. The magician knows this and murmurs his *carmen* or spell-word; the tribal “priest” knows it and recites the sacred tale. The preacher knows it, too, and thus the “comforting” word, the extemporaneous address, the exhortation becomes one of the most powerful means of religious “propaganda”. From the “primitive” narratives and myths which the guardian of

⁸ Above, chap. v, secs. 9 ff.

sacred tradition tells his audience to the elaborate, homilies with which the Christian, Hindu, or Buddhist preacher edifies his congregation, the oral and written word wins and unites souls. This effect does not necessarily depend on logical and convincing argumentation only. Numinous syllables, sacred sounds, and ecstatic utterances may have a more cumulative, animating, stirring, and electrifying influence. The psychology of the revival meeting in primitive and advanced civilizations proves that music has been used all through the ages to enhance the effect of religious rites. Its power has been so great that fear has been felt that it might confuse the religious meaning of the message it illustrated and has thus aroused at times harsh and violent protests (Calvin, Kierkegaard, and Tolstoy). Yet the most primitive group, as well as the sophisticated congregations of a modern metropolis, uses song and instrumental music to create and sustain the mood of the assembly. "Many thousands", says the historian of Methodism (J. M. Buckley), "singing marvellously fervent descriptions of religious experience in every stage from conviction to the highest attainments of Christian life . . . produced an effect hardly second to that of the preaching." Sacred performances constitute the core of the ceremonial of many religions. Even in its emancipated and "secularized" form, the "drama" exerts a magically integrating influence upon its audience. The effect of the *dromena* of the Greek mystery cults, of the Shiite holy drama, and of the Hindu and Lamaistic pantomimes is analogous to the awe and emotion which fill the hearts of the members of a primitive cult group celebrating their tribal mysteries. Dancing also plays a part. Its value and significance consist not only in its being an outlet for all kinds of emotions; it also serves to unite thoroughly the group which participates in it. Even in Mohammedanism (with the Mevlemedi Order), Judaism (with the Chassidim), and Gnostic and sectarian Christianity (with the group referred to in the Acts of John, with the Shakers and with Russian sects) cultic dances are known. Yet more than any of the forms of outward expression which might stand for contents of non-religious as well as religious character, those acts, rites, and signs which are specifically religious are of primary concern for the sociologist. Collective prayer in Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, and Buddhism and sacramental rites referred to previously at greater length (Part I) are particularly instructive. It is not difficult to imagine how much the sacramental celebration of the

members of the Roman-oriental mystery societies intensified and unified their experience. The Gospel of John and the teachings of Paul set the ideal and standard for this aspect of Christian life, and even the highly individualistic early Buddhist community has its Patimokkha (confession) ceremony, a regular assemblage of all those striving after enlightenment. The more complex the social organization of a religion grows, the more complicated is the differentiation of function and the more new means and methods are necessary to co-ordinate groups and individuals within a large ecclesiastical body. Differentiation according to natural and cultural factors becomes, again, necessary (youth groups, adults, study and action groups). The dialectics of religious life which we outlined in principle in the first part of this book is clearly revealed in the history of corporate worship. Created to give full and adequate expression to the experience of the holy and to integrate those united by the mystery of this fellowship, the forms devised for the communion of man with God have continually to be revitalized in order to avoid sterility. Particularly our restless age asks for ever-continued attempts to reinterpret the meaning of means, forms, and instruments used by individuals and groups in their communion with God and with their fellow men. So, in addition to the existing forms, new expressions have to be developed, or, where the "conventional" seem unsatisfactory, new and special forms and acts of devotion have to be devised to reintegrate the worshippers. For the integration of the religious group is not an accidental but an essential function of all spontaneous and established religious rites.

In conclusion we have to review briefly the circumstances under which and the procedure by which participation in religious groups begins and terminates. In all transitory communion, even in the circle and in the incipient independent group, not much formality is observed, followers join and part company freely ("audience"). Yet exclusion also occurs, usually on the ground of loyalty betrayed. With the development of religious organization a stricter regulation of admission is introduced: the candidate has to serve a period of probation, special tasks have to be fulfilled, adequate preparation of a devotional, intellectual, ritual, or moral character has to be undergone, and solemn rites of reception and initiation, possibly of a sacramental character, have to be performed. Vows may be taken, especially in the case of select and ascetic communities. The initiatory

rites, originally always of a more or less spontaneous character, may become stereotyped and perfunctory. Specifically religious groups differ from natural and identical ones in that entrance is at first exclusively and actually, later supposedly spontaneous. Hereditary participation to be confirmed by special acts at different stages of the individual's life, usually on the basis of some evidence, becomes the rule in most ecclesiastical bodies.

We have studied types of protest against the lowering of religious and moral qualifications and standards which some have seen in this development (Rigorism, Precisianism, and Sectarianism agree in principle on selection and qualification for membership). Lessening of discipline corresponds to the easing of prerequisites for admission. Expulsion or suspension from membership, originally a not uncommon and potent means to safeguard purity of faith and practice, becomes rarer with growth and extension of the group or body (cf. the regulations for excommunication in the Roman Catholic church in the *Codex juris canonici*), but is not infrequently used in highly selective communities whatever the criteria for the selection (order, church, sect).

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The task of the sociology of religion was defined in the first part of this volume as the study of the interrelation and interaction of religion and society with special emphasis on the typology of religious groups. No explicit value judgments on the facts reviewed have been passed in these pages, nor have attempts been made to establish norms for the direction and regulation of social or religious life, the assumption being that sociology, as a descriptive discipline, on the one hand, and philosophy and theology of society, as normative sciences, on the other, have different aims and methods and hence should be treated differently and separately.

Yet the fact that this study is limited to a descriptive sociological examination of religious groups need not be interpreted as an implicit admission that the theological, philosophical, and metaphysical problems and questions growing out of such a study of society have to remain unanswerable. They can and most certainly should be answered, but it is not the task of this inquiry to do so. Our purpose has been to present material which would be of use to readers of different religious and philosophical convictions and persuasions who are interested in a study of the interrelation of religion and society. We do not expect anyone to "derive" theological or philosophical principles from a descriptive study. Principles must rest on different grounds. They are the formulation of what we recognize as true or false in personal experience and decision. The subjectivity of this decision does not prejudice us against the objective validity of values acknowledged in our experience. We leave to theological or philosophical epistemology the task of establishing and defending this fact.

It seems that the prevailing opinion at the present time is that if Scylla, that is, historicism, be avoided, one would necessarily have to fall into Charybdis, that is, a naïve or artificial identification of the whole with a partial "truth". The days of historicism and relativism are gone, but there is still need for an inventory of the manifestations of religious experience in all its breadth and for a comprehensive inquiry into the nature, significance, and

function of religious expression in society. Once we realize that, we shall no longer hope to discover what to believe or how to act in and through a study of historical facts and developments—the error of historism—but we shall be able to give to history its due. We have learned in the age of historism that we cannot artificially shut out of our consciousness the knowledge of different ways and systems of thought once they have come to be known to us. (And the nineteenth century has done more thus to widen our horizon than any preceding one.) It is foolish to try to do that in anxiously limiting our horizons by concentrating exclusively on our own heritage or faith. There is no justification for limiting ourselves to familiar manifestations of religious experience if we are desirous of comprehending its nature; we should rather endeavour to embrace in our studies all the multifarious forms of it. It seems highly desirable and necessary again and again to reflect upon the nature of religion, which so often is much too readily identified with forms and institutions with which we happen to be acquainted rather than with the spirit to which they are supposed to bear witness. Where in all the various expressions of religious experience is this spirit still present, and where is it not? Which are the criteria by which we can identify so-called “genuine” religious experience? Our survey has included the examination of many diverse beliefs, institutions, and activities, all of which, at least originally, attempted to express a peculiar religious experience. No age, no country, and no people seems to have lacked such experience altogether; the variety in the forms of its expression is bewildering. Some of these manifestations were and remained genuine; others ceased to be in the course of time and became mixed and lost part or all of their value and validity. The ultimate source and the meaning of an expression or form valid in the realm of religion is its origin from and testimony to a significant religious experience. Wherever such expressions are genuine, they are meant not to serve external,—that is, social, political, economic, aesthetic, or personal—aims and purposes, but to formulate and perpetuate man’s deepest experience, his communion with God. Inasmuch as this communion can never be completely consummated, its history must be viewed as a continuous process lasting through what we call the history of religion, of which the history of groups created and maintained to foster this communion is a part.

In acquainting ourselves with the dynamics of this process, we

encounter every extreme, from the crudest to the loftiest expressions of man's need for communication with the Infinite. The history of religion begins with the beginning of the history of man. However, the latter will not permit us to picture man in a perpetual search for God, because, primitive or cultured, educated or ignorant, rich or poor, wise or foolish, he desires and aspires consciously or unconsciously to material blessings and satisfaction of all kinds of needs. It would be foolish to deny that—just as foolish as to deny the genuineness of his spiritual cravings. No better formula has been found for man's ultimate longing than Augustine's "*Cor nostrum inquietum est donec requiescat in te*" ("*Our heart is without rest until it finds it in Thee*"). Because a wide range of ostensibly or allegedly religious acts and rites can be shown to be of a pragmatic character, all religious acts and rites have been suspected by some older and modern critics, who are inclined to draw from these instances conclusions as to the pragmatic character of religion in general. Such a generalization is entirely unjustified. The history of religion, as that of man's endeavours taken as a whole, reveals the amazing latitude of meaning identical gestures and signs, acts and deeds can have. That is what Hegel and Wundt have called "*heterogeneity of purpose*" and what Spengler had in mind with his theory of "*pseudomorphosis of forms*". Interpretation and adaptation in the course of time have altered, often decisively, the purpose and meaning of religious acts and forms, and it is the task of the historian and sociologist to follow such changes and transformations with the keenest interest and to try to explain them.

It can be proved that individuals and peoples vary not only in the quantity and quality of their religious experience but also in their capacity to express it. Even those who tend to minimize the amount of actual creative ability and activity in religious life—*semper eadem, sed aliter*—cannot really deny the manifold and varied character of the expressions of this fundamental human urge in the different cultures and societies of the world. To a bird's-eye view the many resemblances and parallels may suggest monotony; under the microscope, however, a truly amazing wealth and variety are revealed. Even if we were disposed to deny inventiveness and genuine vital experiences to the unsung, the common man, to the "*proletariat*" in the history of religion, and to give credit merely to the mouthpieces, leaders, and "*formulators*", as a modern anthropologist has called them, just a review of the productivity and abundance of their representa-

tion of man's intercourse with the deity and its sociological consequences will produce wonderfully rewarding results.

Man has always sought man's company, though he often met with indifference and rebuke in doing so. He had to rely on bonds which nature had created, but his inventiveness led him to find other motives and incitements to unite with his fellows. Religious experiences, we have seen, were a mighty factor in establishing as well as destroying human associations. It is significant that the loftiest and most comprehensive concepts of community, those of a universal character, have become possible only through the widening and deepening of religious experience, much as the secularization of these ideas and ideals may have obscured the story of their emergence and evolution to modern man.

The reader of these pages, we hope, may realize that religion is a less "aristocratic" phenomenon than some modern critics allow us to believe. Again and again in studying the history of religion we meet with tendencies and movements, reactions and developments which are the spontaneous, contagious expressions of the religious thoughts and emotions of whole groups and even of the masses. The student of religion joins the historian in dismissing the pseudo-problem: collective versus individual activity, since both ideas, being essentially complementary and correlative, are abstractions. It remains for the creative religious genius to find the formula to express that for which the group has been consciously or unconsciously longing. Carlyle has phrased this very effectively: "They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterners, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain."

Our historical and systematic review warrants the conclusion that man in his religious attitudes seems to have, all through his history, at once felt very near to and very far from his fellow man. The peculiar tension resulting from the mixed feelings of separation and relatedness is one of the most decisive and effective stimuli and incitements to the formation and destruction of groups, and therefore becomes one of the fundamental factors in the dynamics of religious life. We find expressions of both extremes all through the history of religions, and, what is more important, we find a consciousness of this tension in individuals and groups everywhere, and most prominently in the development of the great world religions. The catechism of more than one religion divides the

duties of man into two groups: those towards God and those towards his fellow man. This implies an acknowledgment that the two are complementary and mutually indispensable. In concentrating our attention on those religious acts in which worship and adoration—the realization and consummation of man's relation to God—find their expression, we shall have to conceive of man as he finds himself in his deepest and innermost self. Yet in and with those acts are others performed and included in which the first person singular widens to that of the plural, and the very first step on the path of a religiously conceived life in the light of this communion implies the concern and care for those whose existence alone makes possible the abstraction of his saying "I" and "mine". Some have been led to think that religious experience implies a negation of the simple basic fact of social philosophy—that man finds himself existing in the plural. Although communion with God necessarily implies detachment from finite things and may, at least occasionally, lead to temporary isolation, producing a profound feeling of loneliness, there can be no doubt, however, that the examination of one and every genuinely religious attitude reveals the intrinsically social quality and character of religion. [In the very beginning of this study we attempted to show that inherent in all religious experience is an *imperative* urging the believer to *act*—to act according to the will of the deity or the nature of the universe as revealed to him. [This is, in a broad sense of the term, the moral and social implication in all true religious experience.] It creates the atmosphere and the attitude for concrete acts which necessarily will involve dealings with and reactions toward one's fellows. With the development and deepening of religious experience in history, this realization is put first, ahead of all attempts to share with others specific acts of worship, thus forming a religiously motivated fellowship and communion. The concept of a universal moral obligation resulting from the aforesaid realization takes, then, precedence over all requirements of a *Binnenethik* developed in any one particular religious fellowship or community.

One of the subjects of this inquiry has been the variety of forms in which religious communion manifests itself. The dualism of "natural" and "specific" religious groups could be traced practically throughout the history of religion, and the structure, value, and significance of each of these two types and their mutual relationship are topics of paramount interest in contemporary discussion. The parallelism and partial identity of cultic forms

and institutions in natural cultic groups of different civilizations point to a fact of some significance: these groups do not possess *history* in the deeper sense of that word. Hence it is easier and more legitimate to compare ideas and institutions produced in identical groups with one another than with those developed in specifically religious groups. A study of the typical development of specifically religious organization in society, as traced in our fifth chapter, will have to try to do justice to the individual and historical factor which here enters in. [The sociological ideals in different founded faiths vary in at least three respects: in the nature, degree, and comprehensiveness in which organization is conceived of in these religious groups.] The concept of religious continuity in specifically religious groups necessarily implies a twofold regulation of the attitude which is deemed desirable towards the brotherhood in the faith and towards the outside world. An "atmosphere" is created within the group which we must understand in order to appreciate the effects of any religion on the culture and society to which it is bound. We saw that historical developments are of greater importance in the history of the specific than of the natural cultic groups. Attitudes as well as atmosphere are likely to be transformed in and through these historical developments. Changes and compromises result not only from the impact of the outside world but also from internal evolution within the group as well. In the "natural" organization of society a kind of pre-established order (cosmic law) provides for a "natural" hierarchy of groups and assigns their position to the individuals living and functioning in them. With the creation of a specifically religious organization of society, a preliminary or final decision as to its relation to the outside world has to be hinted at or formulated, though the interpretation of this decision may undergo profound transformation with changing conditions. [Two sets of problems result from this situation: the formulation of the proper attitude to be taken towards other religious groups—a less acute problem for natural cultic groups—and the attitude towards natural social groups, such as the family and larger units (clan, tribe) and particularly the state.]

Much attention has been paid to the standardization of attitudes ("patterns") in the examination of expressions of human experiences by sociologists and psychologists. Until further study has been made, the question as to whether there is a difference in this regard between natural and specific cultic

groups must, however, remain open. We may not be altogether wrong in claiming that "patterns" will develop more easily in the relatively static atmosphere of the natural group. Then, again, we find within the specifically religious group a dissension on the issue of its constitution. "Definiteness" is the war-cry of one faction; "liberty" that of the other. The growth and systematization of doctrine, cult, and organization will thus be evaluated differently in groups of typologically different structures, and correspondingly their own history and development will be viewed and interpreted in agreement with this basic conception.

The essential criterion of judgment on the vitality of any religious group will have to be the intensity or the comprehensiveness of its characteristic experience and the adequacy and genuineness of its expression. "Limitation" might be the expression of strength and "breadth" of weakness. But the former may also be interpreted as lack of elasticity, hence a sign of weakness; and the latter as comprehensiveness, hence as an asset. Extreme experiences will tend to produce extreme attitudes and ideas. The historical development of a specifically religious group may work in two ways, either to weaken the original religious intuition and substance or to purify and refine it. It may lead into extremes and, again, it may work for balance. It is important whether religious authority is acknowledged and exercised in one, several, or a number of different forms and whether it is exclusively charismatic or institutional in character or a combination of both elements. It is characteristic of the specifically religious group that it formulates an ideal derived from or attributed in its origin to a historical figure.

The basic sociological fact that society, even at lower cultural levels, is not the sum of individuals of sociologically identical position but a complex structure has a decisive bearing upon the study of the sociology of religion. The persons and institutions composing it contribute not only in proportion to their natural endowment but also according to the efficiency of their active co-operation and social organization. Men and women, young and old, high and low, have in their religious experience both a common and a private possession. A religious group, natural or special, may include people of different sex, age, and status. In specifically religious groups these differences will matter less than they do in identical groups. Yet, for the very performance of religious rites, sex, age, and status may be of either positive or negative importance. The theory of complete equality of all

members in a religious group, as far as cultic duties and rights are concerned, is upheld only in a very few of them and carried out in practice in even fewer, whereas limitation and specialization of function, cultic privileges, and monopolies are found in all types of natural and specifically religious groups. Sex may exclude an individual from participation in some and qualify him for functions in other types of religious communities. Mature age secures a more active part in rites and forms of worship the world over. As far as status is concerned, we found a wide range of differences: religious activities show the effect of specialization in work, of distinction in social rank, and of disparity in what an individual calls his own—to a different degree in more homogeneous and in highly stratified, in primitive and modern, society. Yet this estimation of the influence of social differentiation upon religious ideas and institutions will have to be supplemented by an appraisal of the effect of religious impulses and activities upon the process of social stratification. This effect, we realized, can be of very different nature: direct and far-reaching or subtle and elusive, it may make itself felt over long periods of time in the history of society or it may be concentrated in outbursts of revolutionary character. All these considerations tend to remind us that, because of the variety of ways and forms in which religion may act upon social institutions, conditions, and processes, we should guard ourselves against any one-sided interpretation of its character as a social force ("conservative", "revolutionary" "aristocratic", "proletarian", etc.).

One fact stands out for everyone who reviews the history of society under the viewpoint of its interrelation and interaction with religion. [Religious motives may work positively and negatively. They "build up" and they "pull down". It is our thesis that the constructive force of religion surpasses its destructive influences. Fundamentally and ultimately, religion makes for social integration, though it should definitely not be identified with its effect. We have tried to show that social integration is not the "aim" or "purpose" of religion. Religion is sound and true to its nature only as long as it has no aim or purpose except the worship of God. Yet, wherever genuine religious experience as the concentration and direction of the best that is in man speaks, nuclei are formed which are integrated into a close unit primarily by what they consider holy. These nuclei tend to grow. In the process of this growth they will absorb, modify, and destroy what opposes the realization of complete

integration of a particular or universal religious community. To the extent to which the force and *elan* of the original experience wane and conditions and factors from outside make themselves felt, compromises will result. The actual development will be determined by the temper and the spirit which prevail in the group, and which may range from an exclusive fanaticism to a meek and forbearing, suffering attitude in its principal "policy" and actual dealings with the "outside" world. The vitality and strength of a religious group are put to a test with the rise of conflicting tendencies, views, and practices within the community. Our thesis of the pre-eminently constructive force of religion is confirmed by repeated attempts, movements, and processes aimed at a reintegration of true religious fellowship, illustrations of which we found in abundance when reviewing the history of the great founded religions. In both identical and specifically religious groups each attempt at reintegration is oriented on a concrete ideal. In most primitive and oriental societies we meet with the concept of a universal cosmic order, of which the order of society is a part and to which it must be oriented. There is usually some latitude of opinion about the methods, means, and ways by which this order can and ought to be realized and about the interpretation of the values for which it stands. In specifically religious groups the ideal community will be that realized and attempted in the incipient stage of its history. [The emphasis is here not necessarily upon particular features of this ideal communion of brethren, such as mutual assistance or a readiness for self-sacrifice, martyrdom, etc., as all this might occur to an even greater degree in "secular" life. The important note is struck by the formulation of the concrete values and standards for which the group stands and which are determined by their basic religious experiences. "Love of Christ", "giving in imitation of the Buddha", and "obedience to the will of Allah" are examples of attitudes characteristic of the ideal community in the Christian, Buddhist, and Mohammedan concepts respectively.] As to the definition of the nature, function, and organization of this ideally envisioned community, the differences between and within individual specifically religious groups are very considerable. Integration, however, is ever sought and striven for; and the prestige of those who heal breaches or prevent them where humanly possible and defensible in principle ought to be dearer and nearer to their brethren than those who provoke them. Yet a last question poses itself. Why

should religion be credited with so decisive a role as we attribute to it in defining it as the paramount force of social integration? Are there not other means to achieve this end? Why should a secular society not find ways and means to integrate itself effectively and lastingly? Perhaps it is only a terminological misunderstanding which prevents agreement among supposedly conflicting views. We like to think that the desired agreement among students of society could be reached on the basis of the formula that perfect integration of a society never has been nor can be achieved without a religious basis. However, the mistake must be avoided of defining "religion" in arbitrary fashion, in identifying it exclusively with ideas, rites, or institutions which are subject to change and transformation, instead of conceiving it as that profoundest source from which all human existence is nourished and upon which it depends in all its aspects: man's communion with God. Let us end with the witness Carlyle has borne: "It is well said, in every sense, that a man's religion is the chief fact with regard to him. A man's or a nation of men's. By religion I do not mean here the church-creed which he professes, the articles of faith which he will sign, and, in words and otherwise, assert; not this wholly, in many cases not at all. . . . But the thing a man does practically believe, and this is often enough without asserting it even to himself, much less to others, the thing a man does practically lay to heart, and know for certain, concerning his vital relations to this mysterious Universe, and his duty and destiny there, that is in all cases the primary thing for him, and creatively determines all the rest."

APPENDIX

HIERARCHY

In discussing the development of organization and stratification of religious groups,¹ we have had to deal with the emergence of orders of special functionaries the typology of which these chapters outlined. We are adding here a brief survey of the hierarchical order in some of the more important religious groups.² The Maya priesthood,³ according to Thompson, was divided into at least four divisions: (1) The *ah kin mai*, the high priest, officiated only on the most important occasions and also supervised education; (2) the *chilaces* were the regular priests; (3) the *nacons* served at the sacrifice and cut out the heart of the victims; and (4) the *chacs*, four old men, assisted the *chilaces*. A dignity, half-priestly, half-military, also called *nacon*, was an office which was held for three years and required certain abstinences.

The hierarchy of the Aztec priesthood⁴ had a dual head: the high priest of the Huitzilopochtli cult, with the title of Quetzalcoatl Totec, and the high priest of Tlaloc, who bore the name of his god (on these gods, cf. chap. vi, sec. 7). The superintendent of the *calmecac*, or central priests' college at the capital, held a rank inferior to the two dignitaries. Each major deity had its own temple and associated priests, senior and junior, who were headed by the chief priests of each god. A special group of priests officiated at Tehuacan and was devoted to strongly ascetic practices. Celibacy existed among most of the priests.

The chief of the Peruvian hierarchy⁵ was the priest of the sun at Cuzco (the sacred capital), who, according to Joyce, was

¹ Cf. above, chaps. v and viii.

² On the priestly hierarchies in Polynesia see Buck, *Anthropology and Religion*, p. 70, and above, chap. vii, n. 14.

³ John Eric Thompson, *Civilization of the Mayas* (FMNH (Chicago, 1936)), pp. 58 ff.; cf. also Thomas W. Gann and J. E. Thompson, *History of the Mayas*, pp. 130 ff.; for the Chibcha priests see Thomas A. Joyce, *South American Archaeology* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1912), pp. 32 ff.

⁴ Thompson, *Mexico before Cortez* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), chap. vii; George C. Vaillant, *Aztecs of Mexico* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1941), chap. xi.

⁵ Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Clements R. Markham, *The Incas of Peru* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1910), pp. 107 ff.

always a close relation of the ruler and bore the title of *villac umu*. The creator-gods (with the exception of the temple of Uiracocha) were without organized worship, but the sun was worshipped in all provinces by the priests, superintended by an Inca; and the provincial and local *huaca* were taken care of by the priests. The higher priests received the revenues from the land of the sun; the lower got state support only when on duty, and at other times had to support themselves.

Shinto hierarchy included the *nakatomi* (high aristocratic family) group, the *imube*, and the *urabe*, the last named in charge of divination.⁶ The new regulation of the order and precedence of Shinto priests (1902, 1911) provides for five grades. Of the two great offices at the top of this hierarchy, the dignity of Saishu (at the great shrine of Ise) might be mentioned. In the priesthood of Babylonia the astrologers and the *caru* priests (diviners) were outstanding.⁷ The priestly office was hereditary and well organized.

In the religion of the Hebrews we find a particularly high development in both charismatical and institutional religious activity.⁸ The former is represented by the prophecy in the various stages of its development and its different types; the history of the Israelite priesthood is difficult to trace and still controversial. Universal priesthood was followed by the growth of the cultic privilege of the Levites. Other families then seemed to have acquired hereditary priestly offices. The origin of the Aaronites, later so prominent in the cult of the temple, is disputed. The power of the Hebrew priests increased strongly after the Exile, the high priest being periodically a civil as well as spiritual

⁶ Florenz, "Die Japaner", in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, Vol. I, par. 16.

⁷ Cf. Jeremias, "Semitische Völker", in Chantepie, *Lehrbuch*, Vol. I, pars. 17, 61; also Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1920-25), Vol. II, chap. xiv; cf. there pp. 67 ff. (the different grades and functions). On the priests in the Hittite Empire cf. Albrecht Götze, "Kleinasien" (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Sec. III, Part I, Vol. III (München: Beck, 1933)), pp. 150 ff. On the Mandaean priesthood and esp. the high priest (*ganzibra*) cf. Ethel Stefana Stevens Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran: Their Cults, Customs, Magic Legends and Folklore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), chaps. ix and x; Samuel Zwemer, "The Clergy and Priesthood of Islam", *Moslem World*, XXXIV (1944), 17 ff.

⁸ For the Hebrew religious leaders see Adolphe Lods, *The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism*, trans. S. H. Hooke (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1937); William O. E. Oesterley and Theodore H. Robinson, *A History of Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932); Alfred Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination among the Hebrews and Other Semites* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1938), chaps. iii ff.; Gerhard von Rad, "Die falschen Propheten", *ZAW*, 1932, pp. 109 ff.; Baron, *Social History of the Jews*, I, 114 ff. ("Hierarchy"). Recent bibliography in *Record and Revelation*, ed. H. W. Robinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), pp. 216 ff., 486 ff. Cf. also N. H. Snaith, "The Priesthood and the Temple", in T. W. Manson, *A Companion to the Bible* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), pp. 418 ff.

leader. Institutional priesthood seems to have dominated in Egypt, where a highly diversified hierarchy of priestly functions and dignity can be traced through the long history of that country. Characteristic seems to have been, notwithstanding state domination (chap. viii), the amount of self-government enjoyed by the priestly associations and bodies. We have thorough and painstaking investigations of only a few priestly organizations, as that of Otto on the economic and legal status, as well as the intellectual and moral *niveau* (education and prestige) of the late Egyptian priesthood.⁹ Even the Romans were impressed by the influence and organization of the Celtic Druids.¹⁰ In Gaul an arch-Druid apparently headed the priesthood, the election of whom Caesar has described. Different Roman authors give us different reports on the Druidic orders: Strabo, for example, distinguishes Druids, diviners, priests. Germanic priesthood was closely related to tribal life;¹¹ in Iceland the *godes* were the secular and spiritual hereditary heads of the thirty-nine *thing*-districts. Greek religion was never priestly, but had its groups of cult officials, and it is sometimes difficult to discriminate clearly between colleges of priests (institutions) and "free associations" of priests (the worshippers of a special deity, predecessors in office, etc.)¹² As an example of hierarchical organization of a traditional, non-founded religion, the order of the Roman priesthood is worth studying.¹³ With the characteristically Roman

⁹ On the organization of the highly specialized and differentiated Egyptian ecclesiastical body cf. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, pp. 185 ff., 319. Cf. *ibid.*, chap. v. The so-called "high-priests" (of the great sanctuaries) played a very prominent part in state affairs. On the later period (Hellenistic Egypt) cf. W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905-8), Vol. I, chap. ii, p. 1, and Vol. II, chaps. vii, viii.

¹⁰ The organization of the Celtic Druids has recently been studied in a monograph: Thomas Downing Kendrick, *The Druids: A Study in Celtic Prehistory* (London: Methuen & Co., 1927), pp. 104 ff.; esp. the organization, pp. 131 ff. Cf. also J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), chap. xx. On the *gutuatri*, apparently highly Romanized, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 135 ff.; on the *antisites* and other non-Druidic groups, pp. 138 ff.

¹¹ Cf. Eugen Mogk in Hermann Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, pp. 399 ff. Cf. "Priester" (art.), in *RIA*, pp. 637 ff., 642 ff.; P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons* (Boston and London: Athenaeum Press, 1902), pp. 363 ff.

¹² The Greek priests and their grouping; Martin P. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), chap. iv; George Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* (München: C. H. Beck, 1920), pp. 496 ff. Priestly organizations in Greece: Franz Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909), pp. 40 ff.

¹³ Karl J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1873-78), Part III: "Sacralwesen"; George Wissowa, *Religion der Römer* (2nd ed.; München: C. H. Beck, 1912), paras. 61 ff., 67 ff. Cf. also William W. Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1922), Lects. V, VIII, XII. Also "Priesthood (Roman)" (art.), in *ERE*, X, 325 ff.

interest in legal order and detail, an intricate theory was elaborated when the actual development of the priestly organizations took place. The Roman priesthood was divided into several groups: those entrusted with public and private cults (we have mentioned them above in chap. vi); the *ordo sacerdotum*, headed by the *sacerdotum quattuor amplissima collegia*, including (1) Pontifices (*ius pontificium*: public ceremonies), (2) Augures (*disciplina auguralis*: divination), and (3) Decemviri sacris faciundis (*ritus Graecus*, and *interpretes—sibyllae, Eupulones*). Later the Sodales Augustales nearly equalled these most ancient groups in authority and prestige. The Fetiales and Salii, Luperci, and Arvales rank next, and other sodalitates (particularly those of the nobility) follow. The *collegium pontificum*, representing those performing the *patrius ritus* proper (all others are specialized functions), includes four groups: the council of the Pontifices; the *rex sacrorum* (the older identity of secular and priestly functions is clearly indicated in this title and by the residence at the "Regia"); the flamines, priests of individual deities; and the Vestal Virgins. The Pontifex Maximus has supreme jurisdiction (presiding at council, promotions, discipline). In the order of the numina they serve, the *rex sacrorum* (Janus), followed by the flamines of Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and the *minores*, ranks highest, and the Pontifex Maximus, representing the Vestal College, ranks only fourth.

Of the great era of the Iranian national church, the leading authority says: "The Zoroastrian clergy formed a hierarchy which was carefully organized and graduated, but which is not known to us in detail."¹⁴ At any rate, the *mobadhan mobadh*, the highest priest, headed the Iranian ecclesiastical body. With him rested the decision in theoretical problems of theology and dogmatics and in practical matters of ecclesiastical policy. Though appointed by the king, he advises him in all matters of religion ("directeur spirituel du roi"). His position, second (or third) to the king only, is attested in historical records. The second highest ecclesiastical dignitary was the *herbadhan herbadh*, the *herbadhs* being the class of priest functioning at the divine service. There were other hierarchs, the exact function of whom is not quite clear (the officiants at the fire ritual, for instance). Unfortunately, only a résumé has been left of two codes regulating the priestly orders and forming a part of the lost Sassanian Avesta.

¹⁴ Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 112-13, 157, 513 ff. Cf. Maneckji N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1922), chap. x; James H. Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi* (New York and London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1917), II, 2.

In Vishnuism,¹⁵ the succession of the *acharya* (pontiff), who interprets the scriptures, directs apologetics, and supervises the community, continues the sacred tradition of the Alvar (divine seer);¹⁶ it is supposed to have been introduced in the tenth century by Natha Muni. Ramanuja, his great successor (twelfth century), organized the Vaishnava world in dioceses, to be headed by *simhasanadhipatis* (spiritual leaders), from whom most of the outstanding Vaishnava families claim descent.

Of all the Buddhist *samgha*, the Tibetan (Lamaism) has developed the most elaborate hierarchy.¹⁷ It has been studied ever since northern Buddhism became known in the West.

In Chinese Buddhism each monastery is independent, and the organization corresponds to "congregational" principles.¹⁸ Though the abbots are theoretically supreme in matters of discipline, they rely practically on the advice of their predecessors, etc., just as they are chosen either by their predecessor or by a group of former abbots. In Siam, where the Buddhist *samgha* has the character of a hierarchical state church, the head (patriarch) is chosen from the heads of the four great ecclesiastical divisions and the abbots of the royal monasteries are confirmed by the king.¹⁹ Comparatively late a hierarchy developed (nineteenth century).

In Japanese Buddhism the two main branches of the Shin "denominations" form a dual body (Western and Eastern branch), both parts of which are ruled by the hereditary prince-abbots of the aristocratic family of Otani, a kind of theocratic rule, the only groups in which there are hereditary offices.²⁰ In most other groups the abbots are elected or chosen by the

¹⁵ Rangacharya, "Historical Evolution of Sri Vaishnavism", in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, II, 66 ff., 83 ff. Cf. Daniel J. Fleming, "The Ministry in Hinduism", *IRM*, XXVI (1937), 215 ff.

¹⁶ See above, chap. vi, sec. 4.

¹⁷ Cf. Eugène Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien* (2nd ed.; Paris: Maissoneuve & Co., 1876); Sir Charles Bell, *The Religion of Tibet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931); James B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* (Macmillan Co., 1928). (Cf. above, chap. vii, nn. 77 ff.). See also above, chap. vii, n. 178.

¹⁸ Joseph Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism* (Boston, 1880), esp. chaps. v, vii, xv; Pratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 326 ff.

¹⁹ Virginia Thompson, *Thailand: The New Siam* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941), pp. 625 ff. The head of the Burmese hierarchy is the Tathanabaing; on his recognition in the year 1935 cf. John Leroy Christian, *Modern Burma* (Cambridge University Press, 1942), pp. 197 ff.

²⁰ Arthur Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan: Historical Sketches of Japanese Buddhism* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1911); Marinus W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935); Sir Charles Elliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (London: E. Arnold & Co., 1935); J. T. Addison, "Religious Life in Japan", *HTHR*, XVIII (1925), 351 ff. (bibliography on Japanese Buddhism).

monks, sometimes from a particular number of dignitaries. The Tendai, as well as the Shingon denomination, has a developed priestly hierarchy (fourteen to sixteen grades each). The Taoist community is headed by the "heavenly master", an office hereditary in the the family of Chang.²¹ As the grand exorcist he also wields the authority of promoting to sainthood.

²¹ James Legge, *The Religions of China* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1880), pp. 161 ff.; W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China* (2nd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 75 ff. Cf. Max Weber, *G.A.*, I, 477 ff.; J. M. de Groot, "The Origin of the Taoist Church", in *TICHR*, I (1908), 138 ff.

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Afr.</i> : Africa	<i>G.</i> : Germanic	<i>M.</i> : Mohammedanism
<i>Am.</i> : America	<i>Gr.</i> : Greek	(Islam)
<i>Austr.</i> : Australia	<i>Hebr.</i> : Hebrew	<i>P.</i> : Persia (Iran)
<i>Ba.</i> : Babylonia	<i>H.</i> : Hinduism	<i>Pol.</i> : Polynesia
<i>B.</i> : Buddhism	<i>I.</i> : Jainism	<i>R.</i> : Rome
<i>Ch.</i> : China	<i>Ind.</i> : India	<i>S.</i> : Sikhism
<i>C.</i> : Confucianism	<i>J.</i> : Japan	<i>T.</i> : Text
<i>E.</i> : Egypt	<i>Mex.</i> : Mexico	<i>Z.</i> : Zoroastrianism

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